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Arms Negotiator Batsanov Speaks at Geneva Talks
LD1107125989 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Geneva July 11 TASS—Procrastination at talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons is all the more inadmissible as this category of weapons is dangerously proliferating, Soviet representative Sergey Batsanov warned the Geneva conference on disarmament today.

He stressed the need for an early and comprehensive international convention to ban and eliminate such weapons, without any linkage with other disarmament moves, as the sole effective way to solve this problem.

Batsanov, who heads the Soviet delegation to the conference also explained his country's stand on a number of specific issues concerning verification.

He announced that the Soviet Union is preparing proposals on procedures and time frames for building chemical weapons destruction facilities.

It is conducting an active dialogue on these issues with other countries, in particular the United States, this helping to make headway, Batsanov added.

He also said that the USSR suggests drawing up an advance blacklist of chemical substances that can jeopardise the projected convention's purposes. It also plans to attend next September's conference of government and industry officials on chemical weapons in Canberra, Australia.

The Soviet Union favors [the] challenge [of] no-exceptions inspections without the right to refuse, equally applicable in all places and facilities, he said.

Batsanov praised a British proposal to introduce special inspections as a good basis for additional verification procedures. Such inspections could be held at any location or object, but will not be linked with suspicion of breaking the convention, he said.

The Soviet Union is prepared to constructively discuss all other proposals designed to boost the effectiveness of verification procedures and will support any measure which strengthens security, he said.

The Soviet arms negotiator proposed to compile a list of substances, which can threaten compliance with the convention, and set up a scientific and consultative council to help make up the list. Such a council will be formed within the framework of a [words indistinct] said.

After all procedures are ironed out and agreement on international experimental inspections is reached, the Soviet Union is prepared to experiment on its installations in the city of Dzerzhinsk, where an experimental inspection has already been conducted on a national level.

The Soviet Union has decided to attend a chemical weapons conference of government and industrial representatives in Canberra in September, Batsanov announced.

He also told the delegates about a palpable progress on most burning issues after intensive bargaining at the 11th round of Soviet-American consultations.

Further on Batsanov Address
LD1107213889 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Geneva July 11 TASS—Work on a draft international convention to ban chemical weapons has reached an advanced stage, according to chief Soviet arms negotiator Sergey Batsanov.

Addressing a plenary session of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, Batsanov said that the talks have reached their crucial stage and only joint efforts of all participants can help solve the few remaining fundamental questions.

The Soviet delegation believes that any delay and loss of momentum at this stage is extremely dangerous, and that a positive impulse of the Paris conference will not last long unless it gets a boost in Geneva.

Speaking about specific problems, the Soviet representative stressed that all was ready for a final agreement on verification of compliance with such a convention.

Obstacles to Arms Accord Viewed
LD1107222189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1720 GMT 11 JUL 89

[Text] [Announcer Andrianov] Comrade Batsanov, the head of the Soviet delegation, spoke today at the plenary session of the disarmament conference that is taking place in Geneva. He again drew the attention of those assembled there to the danger of delaying the elaboration of a draft international convention on the banning of chemical weapons. As the Soviet representative noted, the talks on this have reached a crucial stage and the efforts of the participants must be united so that the few remaining fundamental issues can be resolved. A loss of time, in the opinion of the Soviet side, is extremely dangerous. The positive impetus of the Paris conference on chemical weapons will not long remain a factor if it does not receive reinforcement from Geneva. I remind you that in Paris in January, the representatives of 149 countries not only confirmed their adherence to the Geneva protocol of 1925 on the banning of the use at war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other similar gases and bacteriological substances, but they are also acting to ban

and eliminate chemical weapons. However there is not yet any convention corresponding to this. The British paper TIMES, citing officials, wrote in the middle of June that it was unlikely that its signing would be possible during the next 2 years. The present appeal of the head of the Soviet delegation also bears witness to the fact that things are difficult at the conference. But what, specifically, is hampering the talks? I ask my colleague, Vladimir Pasko, to speak.

[Pasko] In the words of the direct participants in the talks, 80-85 percent of the text of the future convention has already been agreed upon. The main obstacle over which the conference continues to stumble is the drawing up of accords on verification [kontrol] measures. This is not a new problem. For long years the demand for reliable verification with on-site inspections was advanced by the West. Our attitude toward this was one of suspicion, considering inspection as an attempt by the West to gain legal access to our secrets.

The new Soviet leadership has looked at the problem from another angle. If issues about the reduction and elimination of arms are really, seriously to be raised then there must be verification and it should be such that doubts are not aroused on any side that the accord can be evaded. Since the time when we occupied such a position, the initiative, including that for talks on chemical weapons, has passed to us. After our proposals, the West was forced to recognize in essence that it was not in a position to guarantee the demands that it had previously put forward. Chemical firms, in the first instance private ones, are speaking out against on-site inspections as they fear industrial espionage. It is true that some specialists, in particular in Great Britain, have declared that long distance verification [kontrol] is possible, on the basis of samples of the air, soil, water, and so on. But the question arises of how to verify [proverit] whether or not the production of components of binary chemical weapons is taking place, the constituents of which are harmless.

The problem of verification is not a simple one. Having come up against it, some people have started to express doubt in the possibility of coming out with a convention on the banning of chemical weapons at all. To all appearances, the publication in the British TIMES was the expression of such pessimism. However, it seems to me that such an outcome cannot only not suit us but the West as well. After all, the chemical industry is developing everywhere. It is thought that around 20 countries have already moved toward the possession of their own chemical weapons. This process can only be stopped by coming to an agreement on the full and universal banning of chemical weapons. Our position on this problem is on the one hand a question of principle and on the other full of initiative.

Speaking now in Geneva, the head of the Soviet delegation has again emphasized that we are in favor of inspections on enquiry without exceptions or the right to refuse them. We are in favor of inspection extended to an equal degree to any location or object. At the same time, for the resolution of the problem of monitoring [kontrol] the components that could comprise binary weapons, we have proposed that a list of elements that represent a danger in the scheme, violating the future convention, be prepared. We have also proposed conducting in May, in our country, in Dzerzhinskaya, an international experiment on verification [kontrol] after, of course, accords on the beginning of such international experiments have been drawn up; at the moment they are conducted only on a national level.

It has also been announced that we will take part in the conference of representatives of governments and industry on chemical weapons in Canberra in September this year, the attention of which will be directed toward drawing up a guarantee for the producers of chemical materials on the preservation of their industrial secrets. Our policy here is absolutely clear. We are in favor of the full elimination of chemical weapons in the nearest future, and the permanent destruction of the production base for such weapons. But here of course the efforts of everyone are needed. This fact was emphasized the other day in Bucharest by those taking part in the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the head of our delegation at the conference in Geneva also has drawn attention to this now. The threat of the use of chemical weapons will remain while these weapons exist and are widespread. The removal of the threat demands effective measures and above all the acceleration of the preparations for an international convention on the universal and full banning of chemical weapons and the elimination these stocks is being discussed.

Chernyshev Assails 'Nuclear Deterrence' Policy

LD1107152989 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Warsaw Treaty members' Political Consultative Committee meeting in Bucharest recently reiterated their readiness to pool efforts with all interested countries in search of accords leading to the phased reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear arms.

Along with the radical reduction of conventional weapons and the liquidation of chemical warfare agents, removing the nuclear spectre from the face of the earth will help deliver humanity from the threat of war.

The North Atlantic leadership, alas, does not seem to share this readiness to do away with nuclear weaponry.

Its commitment to weapons of mass destruction can only be seen as indicative of an outdated view of war as a means of attaining political objectives and a desire to base its relations with other nations on a foundation of threats and armaments and constant readiness to use force.

Defying logic, some Western representatives continue advocating nuclear weapons as a "peace-keeper", giving them credit for preventing a third world war.

This argument is wholly fallacious.

It is more logical to suggest that had nuclear weapons not been developed, the world would have been spared the several moments in the past, during which it balanced on the brink of annihilation.

Besides, even if a third world war has not yet broken out, who can guarantee that it won't in the future, triggered off by a technical error or a misjudgement?

Forever extending the policy of "nuclear deterrence" clearly encourages attempts to gain advantages over the other sides and achieve military superiority.

The past decades have demonstrated that mutual efforts to acquire a retaliatory capability have only whipped up the arms race, which made establishing a mutually acceptable balance of military strength an increasingly tough proposition.

The NATO leadership justifies the need to preserve nuclear weapons by contending that they help offset what it calls the Warsaw Treaty advantage in conventional arms.

There is no such advantage, however. The existing asymmetries and imbalances in favor of the East in some categories of weapons and in favor of the West in others do not upset the overall equilibrium.

But even this balance does not satisfy the Warsaw Treaty, whose members are prepared by joint efforts to iron out these asymmetries and imbalances and then drastically scale down military confrontation.

Their Western counterparts should take this into account when deciding the fate of nuclear weapons. If relevant accords are hammered out at the Vienna talks, this will bring about a carefully weighted balance of conventional forces at markedly lower levels.

[For] what will NATO's nuclear weapons be needed to offset then?

Undaunted, north Atlantic alliance spokesmen claim that they will still need them even after balanced cuts in conventional armaments and armed forces.

So where is the logic and consistency on their part?

It appears that the time has come for the north Atlantic bloc to review its long-outdated strategic concepts adopted during the "cold war" and bring them into line with new realities. There are clearly still many illogical ideas and outdated stereotypes that NATO strategy-makers need to shed.

Aboimov Briefs Press on Pact Talks, Bush Tour
LD1107172789 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—"The Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states confirmed the unchangeability of the main direction of the allied states' policy—the course at consolidating peace and deepening detente," Ivan Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister, told a briefing at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry today. He summed up the conference of the Political Consultative Committee, saying that the meeting's main result was the adoption of documents- - the statement "for stable and secure Europe free from nuclear and chemical weapons, for sizable cuts in armed forces, armaments and military expenditures" and a communique.

Aboimov emphasized that the allied countries are striving to make the disarmament process continuous and irreversible. Their purpose is arms reduction until there is no threat of an outbreak of war. Aboimov said the participants in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee confirmed the proposal of allied states made last April to discuss the question of tactical nulear weapons at separate talks aimed at stage-by-stage reduction of these weapons. The USSR deputy foreign minister said the USSR not only calls for opening such talks but is also prepared to take unilateral steps toward the reduction of arsenals of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

Europe has every prerequisite to overcome the military-political and economic confrontation and replace it with effective, mutually- advantageous cooperation, Aboimov said. Allied states attach priority importance to the ensurance of military-political and territorial stability in Europe. And they proceed from the view that every people decides the destiny of its country and has a right to choose suitable socio-political and economic system, state system.

Aboimov expressed the hope that the results of the Bucharest meeting will be promoting the consolidation of peace. At the same time he noted that stating their views of events and tendencies in international affairs, the Warsaw Treaty countries do not claim the knowledge of ultimate truth. "Our alliance is open to any constructive steps and proposals aimed at creating durable peace and developing relations of goodneighbourliness and cooperation in Europe," the Soviet diplomat said.

With regard to Mikhail Gorbachev's and George Bush's visit to a number of European countries, Aboimov expressed the opinion that trips of the Soviet leader to West-European countries and of the American President to East-European countries help develop the process of creating a common European home. He emphasized that the Soviet side cannot imagine the development of the European process without the participation of the United States and Canda which are full-fledged participants in the process.

Soviet Economist Views FRG, Restructuring, PRC
AU0207152689 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0905 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Interview with Vyacheslav Dashichev, Soviet economist and member of the Academy of Sciences, by Detmar Karmer—recorded; date and place not given]

[Text] [Karmer] Professor Dashichev, 3 weeks have passed since the general secretary's visit to the FRG. Looking back, what would you consider the most important result?

[Dashichev] I would say that this visit was perhaps the most important event in the relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG since the end of the last war. It can be compared perhaps with Adenauer's first visit to Moscow.

[Karmer] In 1951.

[Dashichev] Yes. Now a new chapter has been opened up in the relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG and this visit has given powerful stimuli to deepening and expanding our cooperation in the fields of politics, economy, culture, and other areas. It was also very important for deepening understanding, for searching for a common denominator in politics and in the economy. The reception given to our president by the FRG people was particularly gratifying. This was very impressive, also for us. In Moscow we followed this visit via television and we were happy that now there is a completely different mood in the FRG and also in our country toward the FRG.

[Karmer] One can probably say that the old images of an enemy that existed in the past have been finally eliminated. All this happened voluntarily: There were no schoolchildren posted at the roadside with little flags; the people came of their own account and often waited for hours until late in the evening in order to pay tribute to your general secretary.

[Dashichev] Yes, there is no doubt that the cheers were not artificial. For us, the citizens of the Soviet Union, it is very impressive that the leader of our state is enjoying such a great reputation abroad for the first time in decades. This is very gratifying, because Stalin, for instance, was not popular. Abroad, in Western Europe, he was considered persona non grata. Khrushchev was liked in the West because of his frankness, even though he, too, did not have such authority. For the first time in the Soviet Union's history, our general secretary and president enjoys such a good reputation. This is gratifying. This is an important precondition for solving the political problems that separated us in the past.

I have to add that this not only refers to the population but also to the politicians. This is a very important thing to stress.

[Karmer] Your president accorded the FRG policy, or the FRG in general, the role of a catalyst in the development of East-West relations. What can Bonn do more intensively for East-West development in the future?

[Dashichev] I think that the implementation of the treaties and agreements, which were signed in Bonn, is important. They form a good basis for deepening and expanding our relations and for solving the problems that separate us.

[Karmer] One can indeed say that both sides speak the same language, perhaps for the first time, in the joint statement that was signed, and they understand the terms in the same way as they are cited in the statement, for instance, the peoples' right to self-determination.

[Dashichev] Yes, that is true. This common language was expressed in the joint statement. This joint statement contains important assertions that are not only important for the relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG, but also constitute principles of the relations of all-European cooperation. I would say that this is a supplement or further development of the principles that were set down in the CSCE act.

[Karmer] Thus, this is a final renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine?

[Dashichev] Yes, there is no doubt that this is the renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine: no interference in the internal affairs of the European states.

[Karmer] In both East and West?

[Dashichev] In both East and West. This is certain.

[Karmer] Professor, Andrey Sakharov, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and long-standing dissident, recently appealed to the West not to give any financial aid to the USSR, because loans would enable Moscow to delay urgently necessary economic reforms, not to carry them out. Let us talk about the development in your country: restructuring. We read much in the newspapers about very big problems. What can be done to accelerate this development? Where do you see mistakes? Where do you think most urgent actions are necessary?

[Dashichev] Concerning Sakharov's statement, I think it is superfluous to say this or to appeal to the West in this respect because at the People's Deputies Congress session Ryzhkov said we will not accept any such loans at the moment.

[Karmer] Your Premier Ryzhkov.

[Dashichev] Our premier, yes. Second, I have to say that our country has been spoiled because of our enormous natural resources: crude oil, raw materials. Loans would just contribute to spoiling our country even more. One really has to promote internal stimuli for restructuring. I agree with Sakharov's statement. Experiences gained in the 1970's have shown that our economic mechanism was not able to use the loans in the right way. Of course, it is positive if the West helps us, but there are other forms of help. I think that if we really had an efficient economic mechanism to replace the old one, in this case we might accept not loans but investments and establish mutually beneficial cooperation.

[Karmer] May I ask about agriculture? Is it not really necessary to do something in this area? For instance, would it not be stimulating to have peasants own their land instead of just renting it in order to counter the detrimental situation in the grain sector where millions of tonnes of grain have to be purchased with foreign currency every year?

[Dashichev] Well, I think that agriculture is the weak point of restructuring. I think that our political leadership has made a big mistake by not tackling agricultural problems from the very start. This is the most important precondition for expanding the social basis of restructuring. If we now have difficulties with supplies, this is first and foremost due to the fact that no radical steps have been taken in this area. If this continues, restructuring will be in great danger.

[Karmer] Which radical steps would you propose?

[Dashichev] Not only the introduction of the system of renting land, but giving the land to the peasants: The reestablishment of our peasantry. This is most important. Freeing agricultural cooperatives from any patronage by the party organs or the administrative power. This is the key issue. One really has to bind the peasant to the land, to give him the awareness that he owns his own land and is not just considered an agricultural laborer.

[Karmer] Professor Dashichev, the policy of glasnost has also caused the emergence of movements for independence on the fringes, for instance, in the Baltic states, which are taking a disciplined but very clear course; in the Caucasian republics and the Asian republics there have been unrest and casualties that were due to partly religious and partly nationalist reasons. Is this a danger to the development of restructuring in the USSR?

[Dashichev] These unrests and national movements have not developed coincidentally. This had accumulated during the time of a wrong national policy under Stalin and during the period after his death. It is the result of the overcentralization of power, where the nationalist efforts, nationalist feelings, and nationalist developments were suppressed. Now, under the conditions of glasnost, of openness, these differences have

surfaced. Of course, these instabilities are very dangerous for restructuring, and one really has to learn to hold a dialogue with the national minorities and with the national republics. I think that if the Baltic states call for sovereignty, this is completely normal. Decentralization, granting great freedom of movement of some national republics and regions, is on the agenda. restructuring will be able to solve this.

[Karmer] Question: Deng Xiaoping recently praised the suppression of the student demonstrations in China as decisive for socialism and for the smooth development of the international communist movement. Is this not a bit precipitous?

[Dashichev] You know, if the army acts against its own people, this means, first, that power is weak, and second, that there is no socialist society. I would not say that using military force against one's own people is something positive. This is a disgrace, if you like, for those in power. This also is a great danger to the process of reforms in China, because it is absolutely clear that economic reforms cannot be implemented without the process of democratization. These two things belong together; they are inseparable parts of the renewal of the socialist system. I think that this will have serious consequences for the reforms. I consider this as a reflection of the obsolete dogmatic concepts on the possibilities of dialogue between those in power and the people. Perhaps the Chinese leadership has not learned to hold this dialogue with its own people and this was expressed in these inhuman actions.

[Karmer] Mr Dashichev, these days U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Eagleburger said that a reunification of the two German states is very unlikely. He cannot imagine that the USSR would look calmly toward a reunified Germany, even if it were neutral. In addition, many West European states do not want a reunified Germany. This is what Eagleburger said before the responsible Senate subcommittee for Europe. He also said that the United States also rejects the European home propagated by President Gorbachev because it would not permit a strong West European identity in his view. What do you say on this matter?

[Dashichev] Of course, we have to be realistic in looking at these matters. At the moment, the question of reunification of the two German states is not on the agenda of international relations and of the development in Europe. However, on the other hand, if we look into the future and if we have set the goal for ourselves to overcome the division of Europe, this abnormal division of Europe, and the division of the European peoples in two blocs, we have to ask ourselves which importance, which role, which place will be given to the two German states in this new European peace system. At the moment, we cannot predict in which way the division of the German nation will be overcome, but for me it is clear that this situation is not normal. I think that, in the course of the development of international relations, a situation might evolve in which both Germans states will come together very closely in the political, social, societal, and cultural fields and in all other fields. This will benefit not only the Soviet Union, but also the United States and all other European countries, because the roots of the tension in central Europe which exist now will be eliminated.

[Karmer] One question: In Eastern Europe Social Democratic Parties are emerging again: in Hungary for instance, in Poland, in Slovenia. If we look back on German history, the General German Workers Association was founded in Leipzig in 1883, the Social Democratic Workers Party was founded in Gotha in 1869—all of them in the Saxon-Thuringian industrial area. The SPD is called the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the SED the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Both refer to Germany. Therefore, thinking about the Austrian model [as heard], one asks how this could fit together if reunification were to come about. I doubt that somewhere [words indistinct] and the division would have to remain, regardless of the reasons. Would there not be a dynamism that is developing in such a direction?

[Dashichev] I would perhaps answer the following: Let us take the communist parties, our party, the CPSU or the SED. One can say that these parties are homogeneous. Within the parties there are different opinions, and this was expressed at our 19th party conference and also at the last People's Deputies Congress session. We have learned that no state, no society can exist without oppositional views, without political counterweights. It was finally understood that the healthy development of society needs opposition, that is, tolerating those who think differently. In some way, political counterweights have to be created either within the party or outside. Our experience shows that society cannot develop in a healthy way without this pluralism of opinions and also without political pluralism.

[Karmer] Once more back to the German question. If everything happens in the direction of the diversity of parties and pluralism, Hungarians will still be left in Hungary and Germans in the GDR. How could this then be separated further? What could one give as a justification for this? The actual problem is that in the past there was one country, one nation. If the security problems which are involved here have been solved... [Karmer changes thought] Permit me to quote the phrase used by your general secretary during his visit to Bonn: Everyone remains loyal to his obligations in the alliance as long as they serve stability in Europe. This is somehow similar to Adenauer's statement at the German Bundestag in 1960 that if one day we came to an understanding with the Soviet Union—and I hope that with much patience we will achieve this—the Warsaw Pact and NATO would be things of the past. These are not institutions that will last forever, Konrad Adenauer said. This dynamism has to be taken into account today.

[Dashichev] Yes, and the changes, the developments in Eastern and also in Western Europe have shown that the political philosophy and the strategy of NATO and the Warsaw Pact have been called into question. We are already thinking of the new concepts and we can reach the conclusion that these blocs will not exist in Europe forever and that they will change their function. If this is done, the German question will acquire completely different dimensions. I think that the so-called German question is embedded in the overall European situation. If this situation changes, if nobody is striving for hegemony any longer—and this was stressed in the joint statement by Gorbachev and Kohl—a totally different situation will develop and the existence of both blocs will lose its legitimacy. It will not be necessary. Then there will be totally new prospects for, let us not say solving, but for creating a new modus vivendi between two German states, for their cooperation, for their coexistence, so to speak.

[Karmer] However, this should again be done on the basis of the right to self-determination in line with the joint statement.

[Dashichev] Yes, over the past few years our political leadership has repeatedly stressed the principle of the people's free choice and this has been anchored in various official documents and decisions. Actually, this means the recognition of the right to self-determination of every single people, of the German people, as well.

'Roundtable' Views Soviet-French Talks, Mideast

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["International Observers Roundtable" program chaired by Commentator Gennadiy Vedenyapin, with commentator Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov and Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, TRUD deputy editor in chief]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Hello, comrades. We now begin our traditional Sunday roundtable. Taking part today are my colleague, the all-union radio foreign-political commentator Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov, and Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, TRUD deputy editor in chief. This week we have all witnessed a big international event. That is how the world public has assessed the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, to France. This has indeed been a notable visit. Evaluating the visit's results, many foreign statesmen and politicians have noted that Soviet-French relations have once again been raised to a higher level. I would add that relations between France and the Soviet Union have entered a qualitatively new stage.

[Kolchanov] I think that remark, that addition, is very much the point, and well worth noting. Let us admit, after all, that there have been disappointing gaps in these bilateral relations. One has felt a certain chill of distrust of the Soviet Union. We had begun restructuring. The French—well, not all of them of course, but a certain number—were not taking our changes seriously and were even sarcastic about them at times. They believed we would soon start beating a retreat. In commercial and economic contacts, too, not everything has gone smoothly. Take for instance the goods exchange: Since 1984 it had declined; in 3 years it declined by more than one-third. Last year the picture, the level, was almost the same. There was a similar picture in other areas, too. In a word, the situation left much to be desired, as they say.

[Andrianov] Rudolf Georgiyevich has given us a brief digression into the quite recent history of Soviet-French relations. He did so out of necessity. One certainly cannot consider that everything becomes known through comparison. It is the statements of the French media, above all, that testify to the results of such comparisons. The newspaper LE PARISIEN exclaimed a positive outcome and added that the Soviet leader had preferred to work with his French collocutors quietly, without publicity, in other words, more effectively.

The friendly relations that have been strenghened between the two heads of state, says the paper, have made it possible to achieve progress in the diplomatic, political, cultural, and economic spheres.

[Vedenyapin] Well, you know, it has been a current refrain in recent commentaries on international topics that each must cover his part of the distance. Experience shows, however, that what happens not infrequently is that it takes years and years to take just one step in each other's direction. So, it is all the more gratifying to know that traditional contacts between the Soviet Union and France are now getting back to their formal, normal channel.

And this is happening on the basis of the new political thinking in the modern international context. By the way, international observers have noted the great dynamism and richness of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to France. An intensive and businesslike rhythm characterized the Soviet leader's visit from the start. The talks were held on several levels at once—above all, of course, on the highest, the presidential level. But ministers and also experts were meeting at the same time. Conducting the dialogue on this basis made it possible to take the bull by the horns, as it were, without spending time on technical details. No doubt, the effectiveness and fruitfulness of the talks was due in no small measure to this, although naturally, one should not omit the factor of preliminary preparation, the detailed work on the issues and problems that were discussed during the visit.

[Kolchanov] Much preparatory work was indeed done, and it's not for nothing that Mikhail Sergeyevich and Francois Mitterrand expressed appreciation of that work—the work done before the visit began. It made it possible to have ready an unprecedented package of agreements important to both sides, and it should be

emphasized that they were specific agreements. And perhaps it's a question, not so much of their number, as of their significance. Their operation extends to an ever wider sphere of activity: from protection of the environment to space research; from cultural exchange to exchange in the military sphere, which is undoubtedly conducive to establishing trust and good relations between our two countries.

What is the main purpose of the agreements that have been signed? I think it consists above all in creating a favorable legal background and providing the necessary conditions to encourage constructive initiatives and direct informal contacts among those actually engaged in cooperation. And to be frank, it is the dynamism and boldness of these direct participants in cooperation that will now determine how far we can improve the situation in the sphere of economic and scientific and technical contacts and what progress we can make with the future enrichment of cultural and youth exchanges between the Soviet Union and France. That is what it depends on. In short, now's the time for specific action and initiatives.

[Andrianov] Let me remark that much attention was given at the talks in Paris to the question of the qualitative renewal of economic and scientific-technical cooperation and practical measures to ensure complete fulfillment of the obligations undertaken by both sides. And there was a strong reason for this, namely that the potential of traditional forms of cooperation in these areas has practically been exhausted. That is why the task now is to bring to the forefront the main participants in cooperation: the enterprises and firms, including small and medium-sized research centers and also particular regions. We must establish cooperative links between them, set up joint enterprises, and ensure cooperation on the markets of third countries.

This fundamentally new task dictates the need to transform the machinery of cooperation. What does this mean specifically? It means that in place of the existing two commissions, we must set up a single joint intergovernmental body and give it basically the functions of coordination and consultation. And the leading role in the working groups attached to particular industries must be given to the enterprises and farms, that is, to these direct participants in economic and scientific and technical cooperation who are the people we had in mind.

[Vedenyapin] The substantial package of agreements signed is certainly impressive. But as Comrade Gorbachev has said, our consensus on many issues has got to be transferred on to practical deeds, so that the agreements and accords signed in Paris don't just remain a slogan after the articulation of which nothing happens. And so, said the Soviet leader, what we need is a businesslike spirit—on our side as well as on the part of the French, naturally. One asks whether at home we have cleared all the paths for the establishments of this cooperation which is so sorely needed. Clearly not. It's no secret, after all, that many business enterprises and initiatives, unilateral or joint, frequently just get stuck in the quagmire of our unique bureaucracy, which, to put it bluntly, is second to none.

[Kolchanov] Yes, it pains me to say so, but what is, is. And this brake, which incidentally also hinders our own restructuring, must be removed as soon as possible. That was said, by the way, both at the Congress of People's Deputies and at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. So I imagine the solution to the problem is not far off.

But let's go back to Comrade Gorbachev's visit to France. In summing up the results of the talks, President Mitterrand emphasized particularly the importance of getting back into the swing of regular—approximately annual—Soviet-French meetings. He remarked that at the present moment the dialogue between France and the Soviet Union is once again assuming the significance of a material factor for European and world security. Much the same thought was expressed by Comrade Gorbachev when he addressed the press conference in Paris. The Soviet leader emphasized the really high level of the dialogue in the sense of its scale, the richness of its content, its frankness, and the degree of mutual understanding, and said that the exchange of views which had taken place confirmed the fact that France and the USSR, and their relations, retain their potential of bilateral, European, and international significance. In the course of my conversation with the president, said Mikhail Sergeyevich, we saw that we were both proceeding from the premise that this is a crucial moment for Europe and for the world, where extraordinary and unusual processes are happening which will determine both the short-term and the long-term future of the world.

[Andrianov] Indeed, the world community is now more than ever subjected to deep changes—tangible, visible changes. The material basis of life and its spiritual parameters are changing rapidly. New and evermore powerful factors for progress are emerging.

But at the same time, alongside them and following them, there continue to exist—and they are ever increasing—threats associated with that progress. There is, therefore, an inevitable need to do everything that lies within the bounds of modern reason to ensure that man can win the fight for the survival of this and future generations. This applies to all mankind. But to Europe it applies many times over. We should bear in mind our historic responsibility. We must take into consideration the acuteness and urgency of the problems and tasks, while also bearing in mind its [not further specified] possibilities. But Europe can cope with all that has fallen to its lot, justify the hopes of its peoples and fulfill its international duty at the new stage of world history only by acknowledging its integrity and drawing the right conclusions.

[Vedenyapin] That is why the Soviet-French summit meeting in Paris took on, literally from the first words that were spoken, the character of a continuation, a continuation of the broad and at the same time specific dialogue of the Europeans, each of whom has his own conception of the development of the continent, but a conception open to rapprochement with that of the other party to the conversaation. Today one can say with confidence that during the talks between the two heads of state a new philisophical and practical interpretation not only of bilateral, but also of general European problems has been achieved. We remember that at his meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev last year, Francois Mitterrand described his idea of a common European home as a splendid formulation. He qualified that by saying that it can only be put into practice by establishing contacts and exchanges—in a word, by deploying the full potential of cooperation. Incidentally, the French president also advocated that idea during his recent visit to Poland. In general, the times demonstrate a kind of ripening of a mutually acceptable model for general European construction; and I think both leaders got as close as possible to that model during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to France.

Well, what is this evidence of? Above all of the responsibility of the mutual approaches and of the desire to give each other the necessary period of time to work out very well-considered solutions and proposals.

[Kolchanov] Incidentally, the Soviet leader especially singled out this thought in his speech at the Sorbonne, where he formulated the philosophical conception of the new thinking, in particular as applied to the old world. It was there, in fact, that he noted that the positive elements that have become manifest in the policy of the capitalist countries are connected with serious interpretations of and searches for answers to the challenges of the time. But as soon as we start talking about the idea of a common European home, then it should be said that it was born of a recognition of the new realities, of an understanding that a simple, linear continuation of the path along which inter-European relations have developed and moved, right up to the last quarter of the 20th century, already does not match up to these realities. And a policy that is constructed without taking into account the real state of affairs, as we well know, is fraught with mistakes.

[Adrianov] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reminded us of one of these realities in his speech in Strasbourg. Speaking there at the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe he said that the adherence of the European states to different social systems is real and the recognition of this established historical fact and the respect for the sovereign right of each people to choose its social structure according to its own lights is the most important prerequisite for a normal European process. This was not only stressed, but substantiated. After all, it is now not much simply to establish the community of destiny and the interdependence of the European states. The idea of European unification has to be thought through anew and thought through collectively in a process of creativity. This must be done by all nations, large, medium, and small.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, the speech in Strasbourg, although it took place after the completion of the official part of the visit, was perceived as its logical continuation. Addressing the representatives of the 23 European countries, Comrade Gorbachev particularly stressed the significance that Europe could have for the fortunes of the world. A unique opportunity, he said, is opening up before Europeans. It is an opportunity to play a role, worthy of Europe's past, worthy of its economic and spiritual potential, in building a new world. Developing the concept of the common European home, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted that it is a matter of restructuring the international order that has come about in Europe, that would bring common European values into the foreground. This would allow the traditional balance of forces, to be replaced by a balance of interests. The philosophy of the concept of such a home, the Soviet leader believes, excludes the probability of an armed conflict and excludes the very possibility of the use of force or the threat of force. It proposes a doctrine of restraint to take the place of the doctrine of deterrence. This is dictated by the very logic of European development.

[Kolchanov] It was not by chance that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev dwelt in his speech on the problems of disarmament. In paticular, he pointed out that in the opinion of the Soviet Union the aim of the Vienna talks consists in significantly reducing the level of combat readiness in Europe by eliminating all asymmetries and imbalances in the course of 2 to 3 years. Developing this thought, Comrade Gorbachev announced the possibility of starting, without delay, a further unilateral reduction of the Soviet tactical nuclear missiles, which are in Europe, if the NATO countries are disposed to enter talks on tactical nuclear weapons. It goes without saying, he stressed, that this decision is possible only after agreement with Warsaw Pact allies. The Soviet leader also spoke in favor of holding an in-depth discussion of these questions by Soviet, U.S., British, and French experts and also experts from states on whose territory nuclear weapons are positioned.

As you see, all the questions are very specific and concern the most sore and sensitive points in the life of the European continent. Unfortunately, as you know, U.S. President Bush, categorically and point blank rejected the Soviet proposal to immediately start talks on short-range missiles in Europe. This means that Washington does not wish the common European home to be built on a non-nuclear basis. I hope that it does not wish this just for the time being. Time will obviously push the U.S. political leaders toward a more realistic solution of this problem and move U.S. policy in a more humane direction, I would say.

[Andrianov] All the more so, since significant attention was paid to the problems of disarmament at the Soviet-French talks in Paris. After all, the most simple worldly logic tells us that no sensible person starts building a new dwelling by putting explosives in the cellar. Above all, the common European home must be safe for those who dwell in it. Is it necessary, after Comrade Gorbachev's visit, to say much about the fact that one of the cornerstones of this spacious house may and must be Soviet-French cooperation?

[Vedenyapin] One can say boldly that things in Europe have taken a turn for the better. It has turned out that it is possible to implement the many important initiatives by the states of the Warsaw Pact, an organization which continues to play the role of guarantor of the security of the socialist countries and of stability throughout Europe, in the atmosphere which has been influenced by the new political thinking. It just so happens that the final documents of the latest conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which took place in Bucharest, are published in the press today. Their content once again bears witness to the consistency of the positions of the allies in matters of ensuring genuine peace and security on the continent.

[Andrianov] The determination to act with all responsibility in the matter of disarmament, in the first instance nuclear disarmament, and in the matter of a successful completion as soon as possible of the talks in Vienna on the reduction of conventional weapons, is expressed in these documents. It is expressed in the communique and in the statement entitled, "For a Stable and Secure Europe Free From Nuclear and Chemical Weapons. For a Significant Reduction of Armed Forces, Armaments, and Military Expenditure." The Warsaw Pact states unanimously stressed the serious danger posed by the existence of nuclear weapons for the world and for the life of all peoples. They spoke in favor of decisive measures to eliminate them, of NATO abandoning their modernization, and of the policy of nuclear deterrence. This policy completely contradicts peoples' desire for peace and cooperation. The Warsaw Pact is actively favoring new effective measures in the matter of the total elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000, of the successful conclusion of the U.S.-Soviet talks on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. We favor banning nuclear tests and abandoning all programs for the militarization of space. We hope that the NATO countries will understand that the positions of the states participating in the Warsaw Pact correspond to the supreme interests of peace and cooperation between peoples. As a result of the comradely discussions in Bucharest, one more serious step, creating the prerequisites for further advancement of the all-European process has been taken. It is gratifying to note, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in his speech in the Romanian capital, that positive changes have recently been manifest in the mutual relations between the two military and political blocs. It seems that we are beginning to understand each other better, and we are beginning to exchange not propaganda volleys but constructive proposals.

[Vedenyapin] In a word then, the content of the documents approved at the Political Consultative Council's Bucharest conference is further evidence that it has become necessary to consistently shift the accent from military to political means of ensuring states' security. At a time when mankind is encountering problems that threaten its very existence, this is the only sensible and responsible policy. Among these problems, of course, there are the regional problems, a whole series of regional problems. At this point I would like to get back to the discussions, the recent Paris discussions between the Soviet and French leaders. It was discovered there that there is a great deal of common ground in their approaches to resolving certain regional problems. At the Paris news conference, if you remember, they showed—and this is of considerable importance—that they both equally understand the need to convene an international conference for a peace settlement to the Middle East conflict.

Such a conference really would be in the interests of the Arabs, in the interests of the Palestinian people, and in the interests of all the states involved in the conflict. And, incidentally, it would also be in line with the security interests of the State of Israel. Moreover, the spadework for this conference does not in the least rule out the possibility of preliminary talks or meetings, whether on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Nor can one ignore here the joint Soviet-French statement on Lebanon, in which, you may recall, both the Soviet Union and France called for an immediate cease-fire in Lebanon with strict adherence to it, regarding this as an essential condition for establishing a constructive intra-Lebanese dialogue—a dialogue which would help to establish national concord and fully restore a peaceful way of life based on a balance of interests beween all Lebanese communities. At the same time, both Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand expressed the belief that Lebanon must remain a sovereign, independent, united, and geographically intact state.

[Kolchanov] As far as the Lebanon problem is concerned, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, there's one aspect of it I'd like to single out, even though it may sound unconnected, and that is Israel's stance within the Lebanese conflict.

[Vedenyapin] Well, I would say this plays an extremely important role here.

[Andrianov] Yes.

[Kolchanov] Israeli forces have occupied the south of Lebanon. The history of that occupation goes back, in fact, to 1978, when the Israelis began laying claims to the southern areas of Lebanon on the grounds of a lack of

security in northern Israel, which, they said, was coming under missile fire. The commander of the Lebanese forces in that region at the time, Major Haddad, went over to their side with a small military contingent and set up an enclave of sorts along the northern border. On 17 May 1983, under pressure from Israel and the United States, the Lebanese Government was forced into signing an agreement on a security zone. True, the Lebanese president soon annulled the agreement, but the Israelis paid no attention to this whatsoever. When Haddad died from cancer in 1984 they selected another puppet, General Lahad, to replace him and he continues to serve them very faithfully to the present day. In creating that security zone the Israelis not only pushed back death from their own doorstep onto the soil of their northern neighbor, but inflamed even further the bloody internal conflict there. By supporting one group of Lebanese and setting them against the others, Israel is shouldering the criminal burden of responsibility for the unending suffering of the Lebanese people.

Here there is no justification for the occupiers' conduct, whether from the point of Israel's national interests, in international law, or in terms of elementary humanity. Indeed, where Israel's right-wingers are concerned, the concepts of elementary humanity and international law sit very badly with them. One need only recall what is now happening on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip: Not a single day passes without reports of more dead and dozens more injured Palestinians there. I recently visited both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and I can tell you that it all looks like there's a full-scale war going on. In the streets of Gaza City, for example, I came across rare and tragically bent human figures, smoke-blackened walls, ruined structures, sideroads ploughed up by armed transport vehicles and explosions, and the stench of smouldering car tyres. All around, even in the morning or late evening, the silence was shattered by shots and the piercing roar of the patrol vehicles careering around the streets of the city, and on the first signal from the Israeli soldiers festooned with weapons and equipped with their obligatory walkie-talkies there was shooting, death, injuries. The hospitals were overflowing. That's the usual scene in that unfortunate Gaza Strip. Incidentally, it's an absolutely tiny patch of land—something like 12 by 25 km, with a population of 650,000 Palestinians. On the West Bank of the Jordan there are 24 townlets and 420 Arab villages with a total population of 900,000, as well as 100 Jewish settlements housing 70,000 Israelis. Thus, the colonization of those Arab territories is continuing. As for the Palestinians' demands, they want sovereignty, an independent state, and the return of the land seized from them.

But in Israel itself there are many who are totally opposed to this, particularly in the ruling circles: What they want is for the Palestinians to be quiet and hard-working, and for calm to fall over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This is the view held by Prime Minister Shamir and most members of his cabinet. They are denying the Palestinians the right to self-determination and the right to create their own independent state; they do not recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the empowered representative of that people, and the only thing bothering them at the moment is the uprising. This is constantly agitating the world public and causing a polarization of views within Israel itself. The more actively the world public demands a settlement to the Palestinian problem and the more harshly the Israeli occupation authorities treat the Arab population on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the more squalid the Israeli Government's stance appears. In words they want peace, but in deed they want to suppress the intifada above all. It's very simple: Once the uprising comes to an end, the need for an urgent solution to the Palestinian issue will disappear and it can then, once more, be put off for later. This is Tel Aviv's stance. But the Palestinians have no intention of resigning themselves to the occupation. Someone I spoke to said that however difficult the intifada may be for his people it was the path to freedom and that they would pursue that path until the occupiers leave their land.

[Vedenyapin] The right-wingers in Israel are busily spreading the view that if a Palestinian state were set up it would threaten Israel's security, and that the idea of exchanging land for peace is only meaningful if the inviolability of Israel's borders is guaranteed.

[Kolchanov] Yes, this is a familiar point of view. What guarantees does Israel need? After all, the Palestinians have recognized Israel's right of existence, they have condemned terrorism, they have taken a decision to live in peace with Israel, and they have even agreed not to lay claim to the Arab towns and villages from which the Palestinians were banished in 1948. So, what else do they want? Finally, something which I think is very important: I was a witness, an eye-witness. When I was in southern Lebanon I saw the Israeli Army in action, as I did on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. What I want to say is that Israel possesses the most powerful and up-to-date weaponry in the region. The United States is on Israel's side. The U.S. is ready to come to their assistance at any moment. What could a newly created young Palestinian state put up against such an armada equipped with modern army weaponry? If there are to be any guarantees for anybody, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, then it is the Palestinian state and the Palestinians that are going to need them, as they do at the moment.

[Vedenyapin] I do not think it is really a question of any fears here, but just an unwillingness, in fact, to give up the occupied territories seized by Israel during its memorable acts of aggression.

[Kolchanov] We favor a very flexible solution to the problem but the final and decisive word, of course, must go to an international conference involving all concerned parties. How can the knot be otherwise unraveled? This is the most realistic and most practical way out of this very complex situation.

[Vedenyapin] Unquestionably. It is the only sober and realistic approach. Right, thank you, comrades. Our time has run out and we have to say good-bye. Thank you for listening. Good-bye. All the best.

Belgian Minister Proposes NATO-Pact 'Crisis Center'
PM1207090389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jul 89 Morning Edition p5

[Own correspondent V. Antonov dispatch: "Lessons From the Incident With the MiG-23"]

[Text] Brussels—The accident involving the Soviet MiG-23 which crashed in Belgian territory near the city of Kortrijk after a long, unmanned flight is still the focus of local press attention. Belgian newspapers are giving detailed accounts of the incident and discussing the question of whether the aircraft should have been brought down after it became clear that there was no pilot on board. They quote National Defense Minister Guy Coeme, who has visited the scene of the disaster and who said that the pilots of the NATO fighters tailing the MiG-23 had orders to bring it down if it should "pose a danger to a major population center."

On Wednesday [5 July], F.P. Bogdanov, Soviet ambassador to Belgium, conveyed an official apology to Belgian Foreign Minister M. Eyskens in connection with the Soviet fighter crash. He expressed condolences to the family of the Belgian citizen who was killed and said that the Soviet side will fully compensate the damage caused by the aircraft crash.

Touching on his meeting with the Soviet envoy during a press conference held here, Belgian Foreign Minister M. Eyskens said that he was "completely satisfied with the attitude taken by the Soviet Union, which accords with international norms."

At the same time, M. Eyskens spoke in favor of improving the system of warning interested sides in such incidents. He said, in particular, that "the Soviet military aircraft was picked up by NATO radar at 0921 hours but did not crash until 1037. Consequently, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact leadership had more than an hour in which to warn the Americans, NATO, the FRG, the Netherlands, and Belgium. This was not done, which is regrettable." The sides concerned were notified only after a long delay.

Speaking on radio, National Defense Minister Guy Coeme said that he had given instructions to the General Staff to draft and submit a proposal to the North Atlantic bloc organs on setting up a so-called joint NATO-Warsaw Pact "crisis center," through which it would be possible to provide information on possible incidents 24 hours a day. Guy Coeme intends to put the same initiative to the Western European Union, which Belgium will chair for the next 12 months.

United States & Canada

Continued Reportage on Bush Visit to Poland

Bush Offers 'Modest' Aid

PM1107163389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Toporkov under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "U.S. President in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—The Washington administration has a special interest in Poland. It is explained not only by the fact that America was once truly the promised land for many millions of emigres from Poland, who have not lost touch with their native land and at the same time have become a pretty influential force in the United States. Within the framework of the policy of the so-called "differentiated approach" toward the Warsaw Pact states, the United States has long singled out from their midst Poland and Hungary as the countries where, in its opinion, the processes of "liberalization" are proceeding most intensively and giving grounds for supposing that the economic aid which the West intends to render them will produce the desired political results. It is not surprising that it is Poland and Hungary which have become those socialist countries which the U.S. President has chosen for his visit.

Arriving in Warsaw on the evening of Sunday, 9 July, G. Bush flew out of Poland Tuesday 11 July. In that brief time he had talks with W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish State Council, addressed a joint sitting of the Sejm and the senate, and visited Gdansk, where he met with "Solidarity" leader L. Walesa.

What did the visit give to either side? How far have Polish-U.S. relations improved after it?

On the eve of his trip to Europe, answering questions from correspondents of the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU, the weekly POLITYKA, and GAZETA WYBORCZA, G. Bush said that his visit was in no way aimed at complicating the situation in Poland, it was aimed at "demonstrating U.S. interest in Poland and maintaining the general desire which we feel for Poland to improve its relations with the United States and the West as a whole." At the same time, the President stressed, this visit will not set the task of complicating relations between the Soviet Union and Poland; it will promote the expansion of democracy and economic reform in Poland.

Very noble and constructive intentions. After all, until recently Polish-U.S. relations were not only seriously clouded, they had descended to an unprecedentedly low level. They had been spoiled by all kinds of sanctions—economic and political—and by unparalleled propagandist aggression. The first attempt to lead these relations out of an impasse was undertaken in the fall of 1987 by G. Bush himself, who was at the time the U.S. vice president. He came to Poland on a 4-day visit at that time and intimated that there should be advances in the White House's position.

"The changes have now taken place," G. Bush noted in an interview with the Polish journalists before his trip to Europe. "There has been an evolution in these relations and I therefore consider it appropriate to go there again and talk with the leaders in a spirit of respect for the hopes which they pin on economic reform about my hope that the era which we call the 'post-deterrence' era will come in our relations between East and West and that on the basis of this evolution there will be a rapprochement between these countries and the West of the kind that they consider expedient to themselves." This visit, the president continued, is justified inasmuch as events are developing, as events are advancing in a direction which we welcome, in the direction of the expansion of democracy.

Of course, the visit's importance goes far beyond the framework of Polish-U.S. bilateral relations alone.

Speaking at a dinner in honor of the U.S. President, Polish leader W. Jaruzelski said: "The improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations strengthens the foundations of peace throughout the world and exerts a beneficial influence on the entire complex of international relations. The recent conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee confirmed the firmness of the new thinking and the resolute desire for detente and disarmament. We want the United States and its allies to assess these intentions positively and to come halfway to meet them. Poland welcomed with appropriate attention and interest the disarmament proposals submitted by the United States at the North Atlantic Alliance summit meeting. The treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the talks under way on the elimination of strategic nuclear arms and the banning of chemical weapons, the real opportunities which are emerging for reducing conventional armed forces in Europe, the evolution of the approach toward military doctrines—all this strengthens hopes of further progress in the disarmament field. Europe and the world expect it. Poland is also seeking it."

The U.S. visitor had an opportunity to see for himself the changes which have occurred in the Polish People's Republic following the 10th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum and the "Roundtable," following the recent Sejm and Senate elections. They have certainly transformed the political situation in the country, moving it in the direction of parliamentary democracy. The Polish side is, of course, pleased to hear compliments and words of approval addressed to it, but the visit by the high-ranking transatlantic guest was expected to produce not only compliments but also an understanding of the country's economic situation. It appeared until quite recently that as

soon as changes would occur in Poland and be favorably received in the United States, Poland would immediately be given considerable monetary assistance.

People here awaited with tremendous interest the U.S. President's speech at the joint session of the Polish People's Republic Sejm and Senate. This is because they recalled him saying in April, when he addressed Americans of Polish descent in a suburb of Detroit: "We shall not act without any conditions. We shall not offer aid without demanding healthy economic practice in exchange." You embark on "liberalization," he said, and we may give you money. And yet this is exactly what the present changes are, and W. Jaruzelski described them in the visitor's presence as historic transformations, as bold and irreversibly profound reforms in all spheres of life. And they were undertaken by the PZPR, of course, not because the party wished to please the United States, but because that was the demand of the time, of Poland's reality itself.

Be that as it may, the deed was done. But the golden rain was not forthcoming. "Solidarity" experts have calculated that approximately $10 billion would be needed to restore Poland's national economy to health. Outlining his plan of assistance to Poland at the Sejm and Senate session, G. Bush found it possible to promise only $325 million in aid for agriculture and industry, $15 million for environmental protection measures in Krakow, and $100 million to revive the private sector.

W. Gornicki, adviser to General W. Jaruzelski, noting at a press briefing the atmosphere of "special cordiality" in which Bush's visit is proceeding, pointed out at the same time the gap between U.S. declarations and the actual size of the planned aid to Poland. Speaking about the bilateral agreements which were signed, he made it clear that Poland can bank only on the $15 million promised for Krakow's needs. In Gornicki's words, the U.S. side emphasized that the Poles must put up with privations in order to get out of the economic crisis. At the same time, U.S. representatives promised to examine the question of "emergency aid associated with social tension in the country," which was raised by the Polish side during the talks.

A modest beginning, but a beginning nonetheless. It will certainly serve to improve Polish-U.S. relations, will revive them, and will render them more diverse. Such a development of events will also have an effect on the improvement of East-West relations and on the cause of building a "common European home."

Addresses Polish Sejm, Senate

PM1107133789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul—A joint sitting of the Polish Sejm and Senate was held here today, attended by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, and U.S. President G. Bush, who is paying an official visit to Poland.

Speaking at the sitting, W. Jaruzelski said that Poland is taking a creative part in the process of strengthening peace. The country's stability and security are indissolubly linked with the situation throughout the European continent and constitute an essential element in East-West relations. Poland and the United States belong to two different military-political blocs. Alliance policy guarantees of national security accord with Poland's fundamental interests. The speaker recalled here the proposal on the simultaneous disbandment of both alliances, which has been reiterated on many occasions, including at the latest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest.

M.S. Gorbachev delivered a speech from this rostrum a year ago, W. Jaruzelski continued. His official friendly visit to Poland opened up a new chapter in Poland's relations with its great eastern neighbor and once again confirmed the correctness of the philosophy of the new thinking. The fact that the leaders of the two great powers in the modern world have spoken at the Polish parliament in Warsaw in the last 12 months is a good sign.

The U.S. President's visit, he went on to say, is taking place at a time of historic transformations in Poland's life. Bold and irreversibly profound social, political, and economic reforms are being implemented. Guided by a sense of common responsibility, the main political forces have proved that they can stand above disagreements and grievances, reject pettiness, and take up the cause of restructuring together. But only those changes that accord with society's true aspirations, improve its life, consolidate civil freedoms, and strengthen Poland's stability, security, and positions in the international arena will stand the test of time.

In his speech G. Bush pointed out that a mighty whirlwind of turmoil and profound change is sweeping across the world—from Poland to the Pacific Ocean. Sometimes, as here in Poland, it inspires hope; sometimes, as in China, it provokes pain, the President said. But there is now a real opportunity to build the Europe of the future by common efforts, a Europe which will be open, united, and free. For this, new East-West relations must be founded on a considerably lower level of arms. A good start has been made here; both sides have submitted constructive proposals. According to the President, a reduction in armed forces must proceed in tandem with political changes. Poland's decision to embark on political reforms and Hungary's steps in this direction are therefore of tremendous significance, significance that transcends their borders.

Poland and Hungary have found themselves at the crossroads, the speaker continued. Each of them has entered upon the path of reform without any guarantee of easy success. Stressing that economic reforms and the restoration of the economy cannot be implemented without sacrifices, the President agreed "to help Poland when it helps itself." His six-point plan of measures includes a promise to propose that the participants in the

impending meeting of the six largest Western countries in Paris step up their coordinated actions in the form of aid and technical assistance to Poland and Hungary and envisage deferral of Polish debt repayments to Western creditors. There are also plans to pass a bill through the U.S. Congress allocating funds to revive the Polish private sector along with plans to recommend that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development grant Poland economically-justified loans amounting to $325 million for aid to agriculture and industry. Another $15 million will be allocated for joint steps with Poland in Krakow to protect air and water from pollution. The President announced the creation of a U.S. cultural news center in Warsaw and proposed that Poland open a similar center in the United States.

W. Jaruzelski had a meeting with G. Bush today during which they discussed fundamental international questions and also problems of bilateral relations.

G. Bush also had a meeting with M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

Americans Visit Former Top-Secret Sites

LD1107130189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Report from observer Pavel Kuznetsov, date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] In a show of military glasnost, the Soviet Union has enabled a group of Americans to visit facilities which used to be top-secret and off-limits. More from our observer Pavel Kuznetsov:

[Kuznetsov] It all began last Wednesday when a group of American physicists and journalists conducted radiation tests aboard a Soviet navy cruiser near the Black Sea resort city of Yalta. The Americans climbed atop the launching tube of a nuclear-armed cruise missile and tested its warhead with sophisticated measuring devices. The unusual demonstration sought to show that nuclear arms control with adequate verification can be extended to the seas.

Then on Friday the Americans were the first outsiders to set foot on the Kysh-Tym nuclear complex in the Ural Mountains, where this country has produced plutonium for its nuclear weapons since 1948. That visit was a promotion for a recent pledge by President Gorbachev to scale down the production of weapons-grade plutonium.

And the next day the visiting party were taken around the Sary-Shagan laser-proving ground in Central Asia. [passage omitted]

The test aboard the Soviet missile cruiser "Slava" near Yalta has shown that the existing methods of identifying nuclear arms at sea are crude and not reliable and that the technology of cheating is by far more simple and advanced. But if we are to extend effective arms control to the seas, sooner or later we will have to devise more sophisticated ways of verification and, as is the case with any other problem, this has to begin with a first step.

To dismiss the Black Sea experiment as irrelevant, as the State Department did, or to react to the growing Soviet openness as propaganda aimed at impressing the West with public relations, is not in good taste. Every time the two sides come across a problem and cannot solve it it is because we have been steeped in prejudice and bias and nowhere is this as vivid as in arms control. It is truly a perversion of common sense when the two powers cannot agree on how to come down from some 12,000 nuclear arms to 6,000, that is, to cut their strategic arsenals by half. And unless we can do it, neither side has the moral right to laugh off anything—even if it's a Soviet-American military get-together at a disco.

Soviets Denied U.S. Visas Under 1952 Act

PM1207090789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Old Methods"]

[Text] Washington, 7 Jul—The U.S. State Department has refused to issue entry visas to members of a Soviet tourist group which was to have gone on a trip around the United States. The trip was organized by Intourist with the participation of the American corporation "American Express." The group included USSR industrial enterprise workers who were to have visited a number of plants in the United States and were to have met with Americans working at them.

As reported in the State Department's written reply to the TASS correspondent's inquiry, the decision to refuse to issue entry visas to members of the Soviet tourist group was made on the basis of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act. According to this act, adopted when McCarthyism was at its height in the country in 1952, the U.S. authorities refuse entry visas to any foreigner whose political views or public activity do not suit official Washington. As for this specific instance, according to the State Department's written reply, the members of the Soviet tourist group were refused visas because they "are members of the official trade union nomenklatura."

The notorious McCarran-Walter Act is even opposed in the U.S. Congress. As Congressman Steny Hoyer stated recently, he and a number of other legislators are trying to get the act abolished.

'Western Civilization' Forum Continues

PM3006090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent V. Shishlin report: "Soviet-U.S. Debate"]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. meeting on "Perception of the Values of Western Civilization" is continuing. The topic of P.G. Roberts' lecture was: "Why the Soviet Economy Is Not Working: Turn Toward Successful Economic Reform."

Having established the inefficiency of the Soviet economy, which is built on the gross output approach, Doctor Roberts identified as its main cause the disparity between the ideological models of real life and its immutable laws, the conflict between planned economy according to Marx and its reflection in reality. In his opinion, the time has come to recognize this disparity and to engage in a realistic economic policy. According to the speaker, the main means for radical improvement of the situation is to legalize private ownership of the means of production. How are ownership rights to be restored? It is necessary to begin by legalizing the "black" economy, Roberts believes. In his words, it is necessary to allow its leaders, "including the gangsters," to run their enterprises within the law's framework. The next step would be a natural "denationalization of the state sector." If private ownership is restored in your country, the speaker said, raw materials and resources will not be wasted but will be channeled toward the most efficient entrepreneurs. The speaker is convinced that the creation of an effective market system must be accompanied by a thoroughly considered taxation policy stimulating rather than breaking the producer, without any state regulation of market prices.

One of the speakers voiced doubts about the expediency of the idea of creating a unified global economic-political system "in the Anglo-American image and likeness." He emphasized that any indiscriminate implantation of "individual economic freedom" in countries with their own historical experience and traditions is in no way bound to produce universal prosperity. Another speaker drew attention to the fact that Roberts' concept of a "realistic economic policy" would seem an absolute utopia to the majority of the USSR's 280-million strong population.

Academician A. Aganbegyan and O. Latsis, first deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST, shared their opinions of the lecture. The latter specifically noted that, when criticizing the Soviet planned economy, it must be borne in mind that it has yet to become such, essentially being more of a "bureaucratic anarchy."

China

Jiang's Rejection of Western Sanctions Cited

PM1107154589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Jiang Zemin's Statement"]

[Text] China will continue to adhere to the four basic principles and the policy of reforms and openness toward the outside world and continue to conduct an independent foreign policy.

This was stated by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, at a meeting with G.N. Azad, secretary general of the All-India Committee of the Indian National Congress (I) party, who has arrived in the PRC on a visit.

China, the CPC leader said, will not change its policy as result of the recent counterrevolutionary mutiny in Beijing; it will continue to develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and it will promote the development of ties between the CPC and other countries' parties on the principles of equality and noninterference in each other's affairs.

The CPC marched a long road of struggle and created the socialist People's Republic of China at the cost of many millions of lives. However, Jiang Zemin said further, certain people in Western countries have tried by every means available to change our socialist system and to undermine the prestige of the CPC leadership. The Chinese people will never allow them to realize these plans. The attempts of certain states to force China to diverge from the chosen path by means of economic sanctions are also futile. Describing these actions as "short-sighted," the CPC Central Committee general secretary noted that they will damage above all the Western countries which are applying sanctions to China.

Standing Committee Support for CPC Line Noted

PM1207103589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Sitting Ends"]

[Text] The latest sitting of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC] Standing Committee has ended in Beijing.

During the 4 days of work, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO notes, members of the CPPCC Standing Committee studied the documents of the 4th Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 13th Convocation, and heard and discussed a report by Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong "On Nipping Disturbances in the Bud and Putting Down Counterrevolutionary Insurgency."

The speakers expressed support for the spirit of the CPC Central Committee plenum and for the new leadership collective of the CPC Central Committee headed by its General Secretary Jiang Zemin.

A resolution "On the Study and Implementation of the Spirit of the 4th CPC Central Committee Plenum" was adopted.

Speaking at the closure of the sitting, CPPCC Chairman Li Xiannian emphasized the unbreakable unity of democratic parties, public organizations, and all nationalities in the country with the CPC.

Committee Member's Lobbying for Zhao Investigated

PM1107154389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Decisions of National People's Congress Standing Committee"]

[Text] Beijing—The National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee, which concluded its work yesterday with a call "for stability and unity," resolved to investigate the case of collection of signatures among legislators.

What is it all about? According to XINHUA reports, on 21 May—the day after martial law was declared in Beijing—Hu Jiwei, member of the NPC Standing Committee (who worked as chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO in the past), instructed the Beijing Computer Company's Social Studies Institute to collect on his behalf signatures of Standing Committee members to a petition calling for the immediate convening of an NPC Standing Committee sitting. According to the Hong Kong newspaper WENWEI BAO, the question of removing Li Peng from the position of State Council premier was proposed for the emergency sitting's agenda. During the discussion of this "incident," one Standing Committee member voiced the opinion: Hu Jiwei's initiative to collect signatures is inseparable from his stance of support for Zhao Ziyang, former general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

In a written address to the sitting Hu Jiwei insists that it is the legislators' right and sacred duty to demand an emergency sitting of the NPC Standing Committee if it becomes necessary.

The Standing Committee postponed the ratification of a draft law on rallies and demonstrations. It was decided to publish it and to continue collecting opinions. Some participants in the discussion insisted on its earliest possible adoption. Others rejected haste, holding that more thoroughness and deliberation are needed in view of actual conditions in China. It is necessary to heed the opinion of different circles of society. The following proposal was made, for example: to include in the draft law a paragraph about dialogue which would guarantee an opportunity for students and other citizens to voice their opinion.

The sitting adopted a resolution: "On the Suppression of Disorders and Pacification of the Counterrevolutionary Revolt." Following a thorough discussion, the resolution says, participants in the conference expressed satisfaction with the report delivered on this topic by Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong and the steps taken by the State Council.

The Standing Committee also called upon the State Council to pursue the policy of imposing economic order, deepening the reform, and expanding ties with the outside world. The State Council, in the legislators' opinion, must take specific measures to combat corruption and bureaucratism and to punish officials guilty of shady dealings.

It was, incidentally, reported today that law enforcement organs in Shanghai are dealing with 1,240 cases involving embezzlement and bribery. These were exposed with help from citizens who informed the Center for the Collection of Data on Economic Crimes. Some 110 citizens have received rewards from the police for their cooperation. Restaurant turnover in Jiangxi Province has dropped by 70 percent following a ban on functionaries using official funds for banquets and suppers.

Taiwanese Reporter Ordered To Leave PRC

LD1107104989 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Beijing July 11 TASS—Peter T.P. Huang, a reporter of the Taiwanese newspaper INDEPENDENT EVENING NEWS, who was arrested on July 3 by the Beijing state security bodies, was set free .oday and deported under escort from China.

A spokesman for the State Security Agency told XINHUA that following the imposition of martial law in several parts of Beijing on May 20, Huang collected, in violation of Order N 3 [as received] issued by the Chinese People's Government on the strength of the decree on martial law, information at Beijing University and other places where martial law is in force, fabricated rumours and prepared news reports aimed at instigating to a rebellion and counter-revolutionary uprising. He also drew up maps of the movement of troops which supervise martial law observance.

Late in June, Huang arrived in Beijing once again already as a Taiwanese tourist and went ahead with his unlawful activity by sending abroad reports distorting facts. After his arrest on July 3, Huang pleaded guilty to all of the afore-mentioned unlawful activity and wrote a respective statement.

Considering the frank confession of the arrested and also the common interests of relations between the PRC and Taiwan, leniency was displayed toward the Taiwanese reporter, the spokesman said.

USSR-PRC Antarctic Research Described

OW1107011789 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1300 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Soviet personnel in the Antarctic are grateful to a Chinese Antarctic survey team which rendered very important assistance to them in unloading means of transportation and other equipment for the Peace and Orient work stations of the Soviet Union.

(Tudiyamikov), leader of Soviet Antarctic survey team No 34 who recently returned to Leningrad from the Antarctic, told our reporter about the Chinese assistance. He pointed to the good technical equipment owned by the Chinese Antarctic survey team and the rapid progress made by Chinese scholars in attaining modern academic levels in Antarctic surveys.

Comradeship, mutual assistance, and active exchange of experience are the special features of the relations between Soviet and Chinese personnel in the Antarctic. (Tudiyamikov) emphasized that both sides are willing to coordinate their survey plans and do scientific surveys there together.

Northeast Asia

Reportage on Nikonov's DPRK, Mongolia Tour

Tours Pyongyang Enterprises, Departs

PM1007111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 3 Jul—The CPSU delegation headed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which has been paying an official visit here at the invitation of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee, left the DPRK today.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Ho Tam, member of the Politburo and secretary of the WPK Central Committee, and other officials. The sendoff party included G.G. Bartoshevich, USSR ambassador to the DPRK.

In the morning V.P. Nikonov and those accompanying him had been familiarized with the work of the "Mannen" [name as transliterated] company, which specializes in the production of herbal medicines.

The guests visited laboratories, a pharmaceutical factory, and the company's own pharmacy store in Pyongyang. Conversations were held, touching on questions of further developing USSR-DPRK cooperation, the expansion of existing joint ventures, and the creation of new ventures in the Soviet Union with help from "Mannen," whose specialists are already working in the Soviet Far East. It was noted that contacts in this sphere will receive the Soviet side's most active support.

6 Jul Activities in Mongolia

PM1007142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 6 Jul—V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the officials accompanying him today continued their discussion in Ulaanbaatar on problems at the center of exchanges of experience during a visit yesterday to Mongolia's Eastern Aymak. Questions of enhancing the efficiency of the agrarian sector and the role of science in agricultural production formed the basis of the in-depth discussion during the delegation's meeting with the collective at the Zh. Sambu [name as transliterated] Stockraising Scientific Research Institute.

This is Mongolia's leading institution of this type. Its breeders have produced highly productive strains of sheep and cattle, as well as hybrid strains that stand up well to local natural and climatic conditions. The scientists are also researching the problems of strengthening the feed base, improving the use of feed resources, and upgrading livestock products production technology and biotechnology. More than one-third of the institute's scientific staffers are graduates of Soviet higher educational institutions, and many of them have defended dissertations in the Soviet Union.

The hosts and the guests had a businesslike, frank, and critical discussion on unresolved tasks—how to get state farms and agricultural associations to extensively assimilate scientific developments, integrate agrarian science and production more closely, and bring about a situation in which science would be a component of production. Particular attention was devoted to the development and use of vehicles and machinery in peasants' work and leisure.

Today V.P. Nikonov also addressed leading workers from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee apparatus, the Council of Ministers, and the Mongolian People's Great Hural. He talked about the CPSU's concept of improving the agrarian sector at the present-day stage, and dwelt on the questions of deepening and enhancing the efficiency of Soviet-Mongolian economic cooperation and expanding production and technical cooperation directly between enterprises and associations.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee advocated more businesslike exchanges of party delegations and recommended that work to mutually study and introduce party organizations' experience be made exceedingly specific and purposeful in nature.

D. Molomjamts, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, expressed gratitude to V.P. Nikonov on

behalf of the meeting participants for his detailed discussion of restructuring in the USSR, stressing the immense interest displayed in it by Mongolian Communists and all working people.

Visits Mongolia's South Gobi Aymag

PM1107150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 5 Jul—The CPSU Central Committee delegation headed by V.P. Nikonov which is making an official visit to Mongolia at the invitation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee learned today about the life of the working people of the South Gobi Aymag.

During a conversation at the aimak party committee there was an exchange of opinions on questions concerned with improving party organizations' activity in the process of renewal in the political and economic spheres. Attention was paid to the tasks of the social development of the countryside and work directly in labor collectives. It was noted that the adopted course of establishing and expanding the contract system and leasing is helping strengthen a genuine proprietorial sense among the peasants and is revealing their initiative and independence more fully. V.P. Nikonov and accompanying officials visited an agricultural association.

In the afternoon the delegation was received by the workers of a carpet factory in the city of Choybalsan. This enterprise is one of the country's biggest and was built with Soviet help. Its products are supplied to a number of socialist countries, including the USSR.

V.P. Nikonov is being accompanied on his trip around the country by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to Mongolia.

More on Conclusion of Mongolia Visit

PM1107152589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Ended"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 7 Jul—A CPSU delegation headed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which is on an official visit to Mongolia, before leaving met once again with J. Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium.

During the conversation which took place a broad range of questions was examined relating to the further development of multifaceted cooperation between the parties and states. Although the scale of the tasks of restructuring and society's renewal which have to be resolved in the Soviet Union and Mongolia are not the same, they are essentially similar, the meeting participants noted. They lie in creating for the working people the kind of political, economic, social, and legal conditions in which their creative abilities to consolidate genuinely socialist values in society can be most fully developed. Particular attention in the conversation was focused on problems of creating modern social conditions for life and productive labor for the countryside's inhabitants, because the successful implementation of the Food Program and to a significant degree the entire economic reform depends primarily on them.

In discussing the tasks of deepening economic and scientific-technical cooperation the need for a closer integration of the two countries' production and intellectual potential and the improvement of their forms on the basis of new conditions in economic relations and foreign economic ties was stressed.

The meeting participants expressed the mutual desire to develop direct business contacts in every possible way between Mongolia and the USSR's border and neighboring regions. The conversation took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

V.P. Nikonov held a press conference today at which he informed those present of the results of his visit to Mongolia and answered Mongolian and foreign journalists' questions.

Today the Soviet delegation left for home. It was seen off at the capital's airport by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and other officials. V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to Mongolia, was among the sendoff party.

N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and senior CPSU Central Committee officials, met the CPSU delegation headed by V.P. Nikonov at the airport in Moscow.

Ts. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

DPRK Students Outline Their Attitudes

PM0707100589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Platkovskiy report: "Ready To Debate: Kim Il-song University Students at Festival Discussions"]

[Text] On the streets of Pyongyang the local students can easily be counted by their navy blue outfits. Young men and women receive this outfit every year as a gift from the great leader. This is a kind of sign of belonging to those who constitute the flower and future of the nation.

The students of the Kim Il-song university are surrounded by a special aura. Within the walls of "Kimde" [name as transliterated]—the university's name in short—"revolutionary cadres" ready for self-sacrifice and the surmounting of all difficulties are educated. They subject themselves to iron discipline and lead a modest way of life.

At Kimde they venerate the traditions built up over its 43-year existence. One of those traditions is to commemorate the day that "dear leader" Kim Chong-il entered the university. The university has a museum extolling his merits during his student years. It was here, at Kimde, that a campaign was launched against "kowtowing to foreign things" and the slogan "We envy no one!" was put forward, urging students to wage a tireless struggle for ideological purity. On Kim Chong-il's initiative a mass movement was born here devoted to the study of the works of Kim Il-song: Its participants have to read at least 10,000 pages of the classic author's works a year. It was at Kimde that Kim Chong-il made an important theoretical discovery: that the source of social development under socialism is the "inexhaustible forces of the people's masses monolithically united around the party."

The other day I talked with some Kimde students. Kim Ren An [name as transliterated] is going to be philosopher, Gon Yen Il [name as transliterated] an historian, and Kim Son Il [name as transliterated] is studying at the philological department and training to become a journalist. The boys have been specially trained to meet their partners in the festival discussions fully armed with the facts. They intend to express their viewpoints openly, to listen to the other side attentively, and also to seek a platform for mutual understanding in the spirit of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students slogan.

[Platkovskiy] What are your program tasks in the festival discussions?

Philosopher: To demonstrate to our foreign friends the colossal successes achieved by our people in building socialism under the wise leadership of the great leader and the dear leader. Our university's students will work among foreign festival delegates, taking into account the specific nature of their views, political convictions, and religious beliefs. We shall extensively propagandize the ideas of "chuche" in order to show the world's young people the undying virtues of our leadership. We shall also unmask the base intrigues of the imperialists and their puppets, who are trying to perpetuate the division of Korea. But most important of all, we want young people to see the wisdom of the dear leader, who has done everything to ensure conditions for the festival to be a success.

[Platkovskiy] What arguments are you going to use to defend your positions in the discussions?

Historian: Well, for example, I shall say to delegates: Just look at the 1 May stadium—the largest stadium in the world, built by our young people. Some 10,000 tonnes of steel went into building its roof. That is as much as our country had to produce above the plan during the first years after the war with the Americans in order to achieve self-sufficiency in this important product. Such is the great life force of the ideas of "chuche."

Journalist: I think that the main and most convincing argument will be our people's monolithic cohesion around the leader and the readiness of the DPRK's young people to rise in defense of their motherland at any moment.

[Platkovskiy] Delegates from socialist and capitalist countries will be meeting here in Pyongyang; they will propagate their own world outlook and values...

Philosopher: We recognize young people's right to defend opposing views and propagate them. We, in turn, will not try to impose our philosophical understanding of the world. I also work on the basis of the things that can unite us. First and foremost the desire for independence and autonomy. This is the leading world trend now and coincides with the main idea of "chuche."

[Platkovskiy] What is your view of imperialism and its future?

Philosopher: The essence of imperialism is still predatory. It is immutable. In our eyes the imperialists are always trying to oppress people, to pressure them, and to commit aggression. I am convinced that our most important weapon in the struggle against imperialism is cohesion. That is also confirmed by our country's example. We triumphed in the war against U.S. imperialism precisely because of the the unity of the leader and the people. I would like the young people of the whole world to demonstrate their anti-imperialist cohesion at the festival, too. I think that this will help to preserve peace on the planet. President Nixon once put forward the doctrine: "Let Asians fight Asians." The great leader exposed this vile strategy in time and in reply advocated the following line: "Let every people of the world strike a blow against imperialism: Let the Asians tear off the arms, the Africans the legs, and the Europeans the head." We realize that imperialism today is still quite powerful. But its essence is as rotten as ever.

[Platkovskiy] What do you think of Western shows and rock music?

Journalist: Our young people are used to calm, lyrical melodies and like them. We don't like musicians making a lot of noise on stage. As for rock music, we are not against it at the festival. We shall even dance to that music along with everyone else. But the virus of bourgeois culture does not frighten us. We stand firm on our ideological and moral positions.

[Platkovskiy] What system is in the lead now, in your opinion: socialism or capitalism?

Historian: I accept the opinion that the capitalist economy is now a little ahead compared with the socialist economy. But as an historian I would like to say that we must look at this situation from a dialectical standpoint. I think that you only have to look at how much time capitalism took to achieve its present-day level of development, and how long socialism has taken. They are entirely different magnitudes. The most important thing that I should like to say to my foreign coevals is that socialism has still not revealed its potential. But even in a short time we have managed to achieve colossal successes.

Kim Il-song Visits Soviets at Pyongyang Festival

PM1107160789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting in Pyongyang"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 7 Jul—Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, visited the Soviet delegation's club at the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students, currently under way here, where he was greeted by V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee, and G.G. Bartoshevich, Soviet ambassador to the DPRK.

The DPRK leader was acquainted with a photo exhibition about the life of the land of the Soviets and its young people and with folk craft manufacturers and their authors working at the club. There was a performance by folk music ensembles representing the arts of various USSR republics.

Kim Il-song asked for greetings on behalf of the WPK Central Committee and the Korean people to be conveyed to all the members of the Soviet delegation and thanked the USSR for its active support of the Pyongyang festival. We would like the people of our two countries, he said, to strengthen their friendship and cohesion from generation to generation.

ROK Trade Mission Opened in Moscow

PM1207104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by A. Ivanko: "The Main Thing Is Information. South Korea Week in Moscow"]

[Text] A South Korea Week is being held for the first time in our country. It is organized by the Korean corporation to promote the development of trade (KOTRA) and the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry.

The program is extensive—exhibitions, symposiums, and press conferences. But the main event took place on the afternoon of 7 July. The KOTRA mission in Moscow opened in Room 747 in the International Trade Center on Krasnaya Presnya Street.

KOTRA is a state organization that gives both South Korean firms and foreign partners assistance in developing business contacts. It has 79 missions in 69 countries and has KOTRA vice presidents in New York, Tokyo, and Brussels.

To the accompaniment of clicking cameras, KOTRA President Li Sun Gi [name as transliterated] and USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry Presidium Chairman V. Malkevich ceremonially cut the ribbon to officially open the mission.

"South Korea Week is an important event in the life of our countries," Li Sun Gi told your IZVESTIYA correspondent. "And we are grateful to the Soviet Union for enabling us to open a KOTRA mission in Moscow. Our task here will be to get to know the economic situation in your country. We intend to study the Soviet market in order to give reliable information to South Korean firms interested in trade with the USSR. The main obstacle to the development of business links today is a lack of information, and we intend to fill that gap."

Li Sun Gi did not talk in detail about future prospects, although he did say that joint ventures are the most profitable way to develop our trade links. The main thing for him, as KOTRA president, is to provide his country's business circles with the relevant information.

Now it is up to interested firms.

Mongolian Ambassador's National Day Address

LD1107212389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Address by Mongolian Ambassador Tserengiyn Gurbadam on Mongolia's National Day, 11 July; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear Comrades! Our national holiday affords me the pleasant opportunity to convey the most cordial greetings from the Mongolian people to the Soviet people. The people's revolution put Mongolia on to the path of national rebirth and socialism. Today, Mongolia is arriving at a qualitatively new stage in its development. The 19th party congress, and subsequent Central Committee plenums, worked out a concept to accelerate the country's development and renew all aspects of social life. Economically, this means an increase in the effectiveness of the national economy, a further improvement in the administration mechanism, and giving more social direction to the economy. Politically, this means assessing our past objectively and interpreting the present in the spirit of the new times and developing democracy and glasnost. In this connection we are

closely studying the experience of your restructuring. We believe that the first USSR people's deputies congress was an important step along the path of the renewal the political system, the creation of a law-based state and the regeneration of Lenin's idea of full power to the soviets.

Our party and government attach primary importance to the development of Mongolian-Soviet friendship and cooperation, and in this respect it is difficult to overstate the significance of the traditional meetings of our leaders Jambyn Batmonh and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Mongolia believes that the Soviet Union's policy of new political thinking is playing a special role in the world's general turn from confrontation to interaction and cooperation, including Asia. The withdrawal of a substantial number of Soviet troops from Mongolia is a manifestation of the sincere nature of our countries' desire to strengthen peace and trust.

Soon we shall jointly be celebrating the half-century jubilee of the events of Khalkin-gol, which became a symbol of our combat fraternity.

In conclusion, I would like to wish the fraternal Soviet people prosperity and new successes in the matter of restructuring.

Thank you for your attention. [video snows ambassador in studio]

Licenses for Export to DPRK Begin 15 Jul

LD1107145889 Moscow TASS International Servie in Russian 1420 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 July (TASS)—The licensing of Soviet goods for export to the DPRK is being introduced from 15 July 1989 to the end of 1990. Cargoes passing through the state frontier between the USSR and the DPRK will be allowed through if the supplier has a license issued by the appropriate ministries and departments of the USSR and the councils of ministers of the union republics.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

USSR Policy on Afghanistan, Cambodia Outlined

BK0707102489 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Commentary by station observer Sergey Pleshkov]

[Text] In a speech made to representatives of the Chinese media in Beijing on 17 June, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev underlined that Soviet policy toward Asia was based on a desire to contribute to the elimination of existing conflicts and hotbeds of tension in this region. The Soviet Union has concluded that: First, regional disputes in the Asia-Pacific can be settled only through political means; and, second, that only the people of the countries concerned have the right to decide their own destiny.

This is the position that our country has taken toward the dispute in Afghanistan. We would like to recall that the agreement signed in Geneva in April 1988 planned, among other things, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country within 9 months. The agreement said that the solution to the question of Afghanistan's political future is the sovereign right of the people of that country and all outside interference is unacceptable.

Both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan have fulfilled all their commitments within the fixed time frame. In accordance with the Geneva agreement, Soviet troops were completely withdrawn from Afghan territory by 15 February 1989. Unfortunately, the other side—namely, Pakistan and the United States—has violated their pledge. The United States has supplied the Afghan rebels with huge amounts of arms. Not only has Pakistan allowed U.S. war materiel to cross its territory into Afghanistan, but it has even directly participated in the Afghan conflict. This is a major obstacle blocking the cessation of bloodshed in Afghanistan. As Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev observed in Beijing, the time is now ripe for the world community to take an active stance on this issue.

The Soviet Union has been working in every way to contribute toward finding a road toward peace in Cambodia. We are glad to note that positive changes have taken place lately in this field.

First, the question of the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia has already been solved. All Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia by the end of September. Another important development is that the opposing Cambodian circles and countries concerned have agreed on the need to end aid to all warring Cambodian groups. It is generally understood that this is necessary, first of all, to prevent the rebirth of the genocidal regime in Cambodia. Another important development is the stance of Moscow and Beijing on the cessation of military aid to the warring parties. Also during his visit to Beijing, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the assurances made by the Soviet Union and China to the effect that simultaneously with the gradual withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, all countries involved should start reducing their aid to the warring parties until there is no aid at all.

It is expected that the new meeting of the Cambodian factions to open in Paris in late July will issue important resolutions and much hope has been placed in the international conference on Cambodia, scheduled for early August. What is equally obvious is that the search for a solution is entering its final phase. The Cambodian

problem can be solved only through political means on the basis of respect for the Cambodian people's sovereign rights. And this, undoubtedly, is a great factor toward eventual success.

Factors for Cambodia Solution Viewed
BK1107085189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Station observer Viktor Valentinov commentary]

[Text] Southeast Asia is waiting for major events to take place. The developments in this region make it necessary to be more farsighted than before in predicting future events. Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, has these comments.

Frankly speaking, judging from all the events that have taken place since the end of World War II, Southeast Asia has never had as good an atmosphere as it does now. Looking back, the wars that took place in this region were kindled by France and the United States.

At present, most areas of Indochina are peaceful except for Cambodia, where the situation can best be described as a no-war-and-no-peace situation. Nevertheless, even the Cambodian conflict, which has constantly shaken the entire region, is now drawing to an end. No one doubts this fact anymore.

Let me recall some key factors which have contributed to bringing the conflict in Cambodia closer to a permanent settlement. One factor is the concept of national reconciliation initiated by the Phnom Penh government 2 years ago which has brought about a chain reaction. During their first meeting in France, Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk laid the foundation for dialogue among Cambodia's political forces. The road to dialogue, which was not smooth and which was full of twists and turns, led to their meeting in Jakarta. It was there in Jakarta that the formula for a solution, which has now been accepted by all parties concerned, was born. This formula is made up of two interrelated components, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, coupled with the cessation of military aid to all Cambodian political forces by foreign countries. The accepted formula is based on the general view that the Khmer Rouge group, that is the Pol Pot group which during the middle of the 1970's shook the world with its bloody terror, must be prevented from returning to monopolize the power in Cambodia.

Vietnam's decision to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia by the end of September 1989 has made the prospects for a solution to the Cambodian problem more apparent.

As for the Sino-Soviet summit in May, I presume that it has become a foundation of international guarantees for Cambodia.

It is true that many obstacles remain due to the lack of trust among the Cambodian parties as well as the other participants in the coming international conference on Cambodia to be held in August. They have sufficient cause to be worried about the reports on the Khmer Rouge's activities in camps on Thai soil. Meanwhile, the U.S. Government's persistent attempt, which so far has been in vain, to grant military aid to Samdech Sihanouk's group has also caused astonishment beyond explanation.

In my opinion, all these obstacles can be surmounted. Common sense makes it a necessity to continue enhancing efforts to seek unanimity since a solution to the Cambodian problem will create the most favorable prospects for clearing the political atmosphere in all of Southeast Asia.

Appraising the situation in Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union deems it necessary to be farsighted in a timely manner and to premeditate all actions in order to reduce tension and deepen mutual understanding.

As Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze noted recently, the positive trend can be consolidated firmly and developed further only when the most effective measures are prepared in advance to end the arms race, primarily nuclear weapons. Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze voiced full support for the Southeast Asian countries' desire to cooperate in the cause of disarmament.

For the Southeast Asian people who are striving to extricate themselves from chronic disaster, disarmament is very important because it will enable them to preserve their resources for use in a constructive manner.

Sihanouk Remarks, Paris Conference Assessed
BK1207031789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Commentary by Viktor Valentinov]

[Text] Hectic preparations are underway for the international conference on the Cambodian problem, which is to be held in Paris. Samdech [Prince] Norodom Sihanouk arrived in the French capital where a series of diplomatic meetings will be held before the meeting between Comrade Hun Sen and the leaders of the three opposing Cambodian groups, scheduled for 24 and 25 July. On his arrival, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk issued a statement which in my view was daring. The samdech made known his desire to contribute to the success of the international conference on the Cambodian problem and affirmed his intention to recall the agreement reached at the informal meetings in Jakarta. In my opinion, the samdech's statement, particularly the second part relating to what happened in Jakarta, seems to be very important.

You may remember that it was at the meeting in Jakarta of leaders of opposing Cambodian leaders that success was achieved in working out a formula to solve the conflict in Cambodia. The formula contains two interdependent parts; first the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and, second, the desire of the meeting's participants to prevent the reemergence of Pol Pot in Cambodia and the agreement to end foreign military assistance to parties involved in the conflict following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. The agreement, which has received wide support the world over, has paved the way for an international conference on the Cambodian problem in Paris.

Earlier, I said I considered Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's statement as daring because a few days ago the samdech was speaking differently. In Beijing, he said he did not believe that conference would be successful. He further said he intends simply to sit and watch how the conference proceeds. I suppose this change in attitude should not surprise anyone because it is the samdech's habit. However, I am very glad that the path opened in Jakarta will soon be followed.

On his arrival in Paris the samdech said he has diplomatic tricks to strengthen his position. I have to agree that strengthening his position is Samdech Sihanouk's main job. As we already know, Vietnam has decided to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia before the end of September, and whatever the circumstances, Hanoi will not change its decision. Likewise, Phnom Penh's attitude is firm. Furthermore, the samdech does not trust the Pol Pot group and, according to a number of Western news agencies, the Khmer Rouge leaders could sabotage the talks if they are not to their liking. What is clear, at this stage, is that preparations are already being made. This is the nature of diplomacy, for every major decision requires sound preparations. Clearly the conference will be convened, and this is the view of the countries invited to the Paris conference.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has already expressed his desire to attend the meeting, according to AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE. I believe we will not have to wait long for Beijing's official confirmation.

'Peaceful Aims' of Cobra Gold Games Questioned

PM0707125589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel N. Fedorov article under the rubric "Militarist Rehearsals": "'Tropical Lightning' in Southeast Asia"']

[Text] The Pentagon has not given up its attempts to counteract the trend noted in Southeast Asia toward a healthier political climate and broader cooperation between countries in the region. The recently concluded U.S.-Thai "Cobra Gold-89" exercises can serve as an example of these destabilizing actions. They were staged over the course of 3 weeks in Thailand and the adjacent waters of the South China Sea. Their main aim was to rehearse plans for combat operations using U.S. and Thai forces in the Indochinese peninsula.

The very fact that the scenario for the maneuvers is based on the assumption that the situation in the region will deteriorate is indicative. In this respect U.S. strategists proceed from the fact that incidents on the Thai border with Laos and Cambodia will develop into a regional military conflict.

Units and subunits from the 25th Light Infantry Division of the U.S. Ground Forces (code name "Tropical Lightning") took part in the exercise. They formed the basis of the U.S. operations group, which included subunits of the Marines, special operations forces, and combat support and services. All in all some 10,000 military personnel, including Thai forces, were involved in the exercise.

The "thunder and lighting" of the irate American "eagle" come "to the assistance" of its ally could be heard far beyond the exercise zone. The foreign press has said that, in terms of the scale and volume of the tasks resolved, the recent exercise was the biggest in this series. Unlike previous maneuvers, which have mainly been conducted in the eastern part of Thailand, this year the exercise zone extended considerably further: to the north and into the heart of the country, including the provinces of Tak, Phitsanulok Sukhothai, and Nakhon Ratchasima, or, in other words, the greater part of the country.

The transportation of U.S. forces and military freight was carried out by military transport aircraft and also by ships of the U.S. Navy marine transportation command. Some 700 combat vehicles of various types, several dozen helicopters, and 50 containers with ammunition for combat fire were transported to Thailand. For the first time railroad transport had to be used to convey military equipment and hardware from the naval base at Ban Sattahip, where it had been taken, to the exercise zone.

Air support was provided by tactical aircraft from the 13th, 7th, and 5th Airborne Armies of the U.S. Air Force which are permanently stationed in the Philippines, South Korea, and Japan respectively. During the "Cobra Gold" exercises U.S. aircraft operated from national bases in Thailand. For the first time Thai F-16 fighter-bombers purchased in the United States took part in the exercise. An important element of the use of tactical aircraft in combat was its use in the mountainous region of northern Thailand.

A characteristic feature of the rehearsal of both defensive and offensive combat operations was the extensive use of sea and air assault forces. Great attention was devoted to instructing troops in "infiltration" tactics and ways and means of using reconnaissance-sabotage groups in the

jungle. The exercise was very carefully planned. Its preparation, as the foreign press has pointed out, began literally the day after the end of the "Cobra Gold-88" exercises last year.

The purpose of the exercise still remains a secret for the public, because its revelation could, according to Major D. Trout, a spokesman for the U.S. command, "give rise to the wrong political interpretation." Speaking about the maneuvers, the U.S. ambassador to Thailand tried to reassure his audience that "although the exercises serve as preparation for war, our aims are peaceful."

It is interesting that even some Thai military commanders believe that more active cooperation with the United States in the military sphere certainly will not enhance the country's security. What is more, General Sunton Kongsompong [name as published], chief of staff of the Armed Forces Main Command, has said that the U.S. forces are also tasked with collecting intelligence information about the Thai Armed Forces, and also the armed forces of neighboring countries.

So, the peaceful aims of the militarist games being conducted by the "Tropical Lightning" in Southeast Asia are very doubtful.

Envoy to Philippines on Asian Troop Reductions
HK1207090189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] New Philippine Ambassador to the Soviet Union Juan Saez calls for an end to the cold war syndrome, and urges consideration of the great changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. Philippine News Agency reports reaching the USSR say Saez emphasizes the importance of closer ties with the Soviet Union. On one hand, this can be accomplished by strengthening the position of the Philippine Embassy in Moscow and on the other hand by setting up a group specializing on issues concerning the Soviet Union. The USSR aims to continue the unilateral reduction of weapons and military forces in the Asia Pacific region. USSR Ambassador to the Philippines Oleg Sokolov made this dislosure in a press conference in Manila. He stressed that the Soviet Union will continue with its troop reduction, totalling to 200,000, until 1991. Furthermore, he added that the remaining forces will be tasked only with protecting the region.

Near East & South Asia

USSR May Supply MiG-29's to Afghan Regime
LD1207120189 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Defense Department has notified the Congress of its intention to sell 60 F-16 fighter-bombers to Pakistan. Aleksandr Pogodin comments:

[Pogodin] An agreement on this transaction was reached about a month ago when Pakistan's prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, was visiting Washington. Following her talks with President George Bush, the two sides announced their resolve to go on with their military and other support for the Afghan opposition. American arms shipments to Pakistan and the two countries' interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs have become a usual practice, presenting different sides of the same policy, a policy of encouraging the war in Afghanistan and kindling tensions in the region as a whole.

As a matter of fact, the strengthening of Pakistan's military potential by means of supplying it with sophisticated American weaponry is followed by other countries in Southeast [as heard] Asia with natural concern.

Washington's decision to sell a large consignment of combat planes to Pakistan conflicts with the declarations of American and Pakistani leaders as to their desire to resolve the Afghan problem by political means. Since the conflict in Aflghanistan is escalating, the possibility that the new weapons received from the United States will finally be used to aggravate tensions in Afghanistan cannot be ruled out. F-16 planes or other American hardware sold to Pakistan might be obtained by the Afghan opposition or used as an instrument of pressure on the local Afghan Government. In the event of such a development of events, the USSR won't remain an impassive onlooker. As it officially declared earlier, it will have to take corresponding steps in support of the friendly Afghan Government. This might involve, among other things, a transfer to the Afghan Armed Forces of MiG-29 planes and other types of latest weapons the Soviet Union has refrained from supplying Afghanistan with so far.

Najibullah, Vorontsov Interviewed on Afghanistan
PM1107103289 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Report from Afghanistan by Hilary Lawson, including reports on interviews with President Najibullah and Soviet Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov by Lawson; dates, places of interviews not given—recorded; monitored in progress as part of the Channel 4 "The World This Week Program" program; Najibullah speaks in Dari with superimposed English translations, Vorontsov speaks in English]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on Lawson's introductory commentary]

[Lawson] The man the Soviets backed for 3 years and the man who had to watch them leave—President Najibullah —is confident.

[Najibullah] They said that within days the Kabul regime would collapse. But it didn't happen.

[Lawson] But predicting the fall of Kabul is not the only thing Najibullah thinks the West has got wrong.

[Najibullah] They said that we were a communist government. But I have repeatedly stated that our regime is neither communist nor socialist. Why is there this enmity from the United States towards a democratic regime? Perhaps not now but in the future people will realize that the United States is mistaken in its policy towards Afghanistan. [passage omitted on Lawson report on current situation in Kabul]

[Lawson] The government has offered the commanders a place in a broad-based government, in addition to allowing them to retain their arms and land.

[Najibullah] We have signed agreements with many field commanders in contacts, and talks are continuing with many others. Perhaps you are going to ask me who they are and what kind of things are being dicussed.

[Lawson] That is correct.

[Najibullah] I think it is not the right time to reveal which groups they are and what we are discussing; that would not help the progress of the talks.

[Lawson] Are there understandings already in place with mujahidin commanders that you are not in a position to make public?

[Najibullah] Yes, understandings are in place.

[Lawson] But political leaders and rebel commanders in the field deny the existence of such deals, not wishing to declare any association with the government before it's clearly going to survive. Through the haze of propaganda, an indication of the real military strength of the regime and the existence of deals with local commanders are the supplies entering Kabul along the three main arteries into the city. [passage ommited on report of supply of goods to Kabul]

[Lawson] The one man in Afghanistan who could bring a rapid end to Najibullah's government, Soviet Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov, has no doubts.

[Vorontsov] Sometimes to please the Americans maybe they [the mujahidin commanders] are saying, "Oh no, we never will look in the direction of Najibullah." They are sitting here and discussing things—many of them.

[Lawson] Do you think that's true? I mean, it's very difficult to discover whether the commanders really are talking to the government...

[Vorontsov, interrupting] They are.

[Lawson] ...Or whether there is just a pretense that they are.

[Vorontsov] I happen to know: They are talking.

[Lawson] Do you think there are already implicit deals in place between the government and individual field commanders?

[Vorontsov] Yes. Many things will be evident pretty soon. Now they are in secret.

[Lawson] When you say "pretty soon," over what sort of period of time, do you think?

[Vorontsov] That's difficult for me to say. I don't know the day-by-day progress in their negotiations, but pretty soon. Months—within a month, a month-and-a-half.

[Lawson] But even if Najibullah is safe inside his presidential palace, he may be a victim of his army's success. Facing defeat, key mujahidin commanders may be prepared to join a national government, but in exchange demand his resignation. So far the Russians are standing firm.

[Vorontsov] People are suggesting that we abandon them. Why should we?

[Lawson] Would you be prepared to see Najibullah resign or to encourage a situation where he did resign in order to gain a broad-based government of that sort?

[Vorontsov] I don't see in what possible way that could encourage the way for the broad-based government. It would encourage the way to anarchy in the country, that's for sure.

[Lawson] In a bid to broaden support for his government Najibullah claims that he is prepared to make major changes.

[Najibullah] We have declared that we are prepared to give up the monopoly of power; to have political pluralism, economic pluralism, an open economy; to attract foreign investment; to strengthen the private sector. So far in response to this we have not received any single proposition from the other side.

[Lawson] But his proposals are not enough for the U.S. and Pakistan. Following their recent meeting in Washington Bush and Bhutto said they wanted a political solution, but they also demanded Najibullah's resignation.

[Najibullah] On the one hand they say they want a political solution; on the other they want to keep up military pressure on the Najibullah regime. So we don't consider these assertions to be serious or sincere. I'm not thinking about myself in the price of peace. Don't you think that making such a suggestion is an interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan? If Najibullah said today that he would be prepared to continue negotiations

if Benazir Bhutto resigned, wouldn't that be called an interference in Pakistan's affairs? Of course it would. People shouldn't impose on others what they would not want for themselves.

[Lawson] The Americans have asked for talks with the Soviets on Afghanistan later this month. If they're hoping for the sacrifice of Najibullah, they're in for a surprise.

[Vorontsov] That policy is a dead end. Because they will say, "OK, you've changed this person, but then, please, another one. This one also should be changed. And then this one, and then this one...." And then we are talking about something else. We are not talking about Afghanistan; we are not talking about the interests of the field commanders; we are not talking the interests of Shi'as; we are not talking about many, many other things: We are talking about changes in the government of Kabul—which solves nothing. They have a simplified view of the situation. They have the Kabul.... Several people here, they must be changed, everything will be nice: Nothing doing.

[Lawson] For a decade, U.S. policy in Afghanistan has been designed to force the Soviet troops to withdraw. Having succeeded in this aim, the Americans find themselves in the position of supporting fundamentalists against a regime that claims to be potentially democratic.

[Najibullah] We have said that we are ready for elections. So far no opposition forces have declared that they are ready. They are not in favor of democracy. They are extremists, fundamentalists, and fanatics, of whom the U.S. has already had bitter experience. The opposition claim that people are with them. If so, let us try democracy. If the U.S. really believes in championing democracy, it should be supporting us.

[Lawson] The Americans, according to the Soviets, are being lured into a policy against their own interests.

[Vorontsov] They are sitting among the mujahidin in Peshawar and they are listening to what the mujahidin are selling them in both their ears. And that is, they're basing their policy on this, on wishful thinking, on greed of getting more money from the Americans, and this, and this.... And that's a strange way of arranging the policy of a big nation like the United States.

[Lawson] But they cannot really want a fundamentalist government.

[Vorontsov] Actually, that is against their interests, but what they are doing shows that they want to have a fundamentalist government in Kabul. [passage omitted on Lawson's concluding commentary]

Kabul, Jalalabad Fighting Reported

PM1207104389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Feature prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and TASS correspondent A. Greshnov in Kabul: "Kabul Under Fire Again"]

[Text] On Monday the Afghan capital was subjected to barbaric massive shelling. Some 65 shells fell on the city, killing 18 people and wounding 131. All agencies report that this was the heaviest shelling of Kabul by the mujahidin this year.

Representatives of the International Red Cross Committee in Afghanistan have urgently requested from their central office in Geneva a large consignment of medicines and preparations. The leader of the Afghan division of the International Red Cross Committee, Jean-Jacques Frizo [surname as transliterated], told journalists that the local hospitals cannot cope with this number of wounded.

The shelling began soon after midnight and one of the first shells fell on a depot with thermal traps used to protect aircraft from the U.S. "stingers," we were told over the telephone by a TASS correspondent. The explosion was of enormous force and the flames raged for about 2 hours against the night sky. The "Kabul" Hotel was also damaged by other shell explosions.

According to reports that have reached the editorial office, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," accompanied by U.S. military advisers, visited Vardak and Lowgar provinces immediately before the shelling of Kabul. During meetings with field commanders, he persuaded them with bribes and threats to accelerate the shelling of the Afghan capital.

The Afghan authorities link the large-scale shelling of Kabul after a relatively long interval with the mujahidin's hopes of obtaining large new consignments of U.S. weapons. REUTER has just reported from Islamabad that Mokhammadi [name as transliterated], the "defense minister" in the mujahidin's so-called transitional government, has announced that a certain agreement has been reached between the leaders of the Afghan opposition and Peter Tomsen, the U.S. President's special representative, on deliveries of weapons which, according to diplomatic representatives, should start to arrive within the next 2 months. These arms consignments, REUTER stresses, will be no smaller than last year, when Soviet troops were still in Afghanistan.

At the same time, the news agencies draw attention to an interview given to a THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent by Yu. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, who, according to the correspondent, said that Moscow is prepared to offer the Afghan Government a number of

its most sophisticated military aircraft with a view to countering the U.S. Administration's plans to expand weapons deliveries to the guerrillas.

Yuliy Vorontsov, THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent James Rupert writes, said that officers of the U.S. Armed Forces in neighboring Pakistan have joined in the elaboration of detailed plans for an offensive by the mujahidin and warned the United States and Pakistan against offering direct support to the guerrillas. At the same time, the newspaper also highlights the Soviet representative's words to the effect that Iran and many mujahidin field commanders in Afghanistan are prepared to maintain relations with President Najibullah's government. As a result, the newspaper quotes Yu. Vorontsov as saying, a political settlement of the war in Afghanistan will probably take place regardless of whether the United States joins in this process or continues to build up arms deliveries.

According to recent reports in the region of Jalalabad, the government troops are continuing their offensives against the positions of the rebels in the little spot of Sorkh Rud. The rapid seizure of the rebel stronghold in Samarkheyl (20km from Jalalabad), notes a NEWSWEEK correspondent who has visited the region of the fighting, has shown that the government troops could organize an offensive on an even broader front. "The fighting near Jalalabad has given rise to grave doubts as to the rebels' ability to ever win a victory at all," NEWSWEEK writes.

Afghan Rebels Divided by Religion, Ethnic Group

PM1107114989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Plastun report: "Lesson of Jalalabad. Disagreements Within the Opposition Ranks Are Increasing"]

[Text] The Peshawar "hardliners," who hoped to become the rival Afghan government, have suffered their most crushing defeat in Nangarhar Province, where they waged their most ambitious offensives. That is how India's NATIONAL HERALD newspaper assesses the development of the Afghan situation. The city of Jalalabad, which they hoped to capture and turn into their capital, has become a symbol of the Afghans' determination to resist the antigovernment troops.

Let me point out that the defeat came about despite the fact that the Afghan rebels obtained and are obtaining more and more U.S. arms consignments. By arming the opposition forces, the United States is endeavoring to prevent their complete disintegration.

The point is that the disorder and vacillation within the ranks of the "hardliners" are intensifying. Disagreements appeared particularly sharply with the creation of the so-called "transitional government" between the "Eight" Afghan opposition organizations based in Iran and the "Alliance of Seven" operating in Pakistan. Let me remind you that this "government" was cobbled together by the Afghan opposition on Pakistan's territory. But the "Alliance of Eight," which is a group of Islamic Shi'ite groupings, considered itself wronged by and its representatives left the "shura," the meeting at which the ministerial portfolios were distributed.

Strictly speaking, it was hard to expect any other reaction. I cite the testimony of Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES regarding the methods by which this "government" was cobbled together: "Participants in the shura claim that Saudi representatives offered them large sums of money to vote for Sayyaf (their protege). Pakistani diplomats and foreign policy department personnel claimed that the Saudis blocked the involvement of the Iran-based mujahidin, who are predominantly Shi'ites, in the Shura since they would not vote for a Sunni extremist such as Sayyaf."

Clashes dividing the opposition have clearly emerged in the conflict that has taken shape. One such clash is based on religion —between the Sunni Muslims (they are in the majority in Afghanistan) and the Shi'ites. It was this clash that took its toll and is continuing to worsen against the backdrop of failures in military adventures, such as the offensive on Jalalabad.

One cannot to fail to notice the traditional ethnic clashes that always occurred in multiethnic Afghanistan, where most of the population and most of the upper echelon of the military-political leadership were Pushtuns. Thus, for instance, G. Hikmatyar and B. Rabbani, who head the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," respectively, are "hardliners," but the former is a Pushtun and the latter a Tajik. In the Afghan scenario this means privileges for some and discrimination against others.

Well-known U.S. political scientist S. Harrison wrote the following, inter alia: "In October 1988 six Pakistani generals accompanied by Rabbani traveled in jeeps and rode mules to the Afghan Panjshir valley. They drew up a plan to set up regular armed forces to carry out an assault on the capital under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Masud. But both Masud and Rabbani belong to an ethnic minority—the Tajiks—who have an adverse attitude to the age-old ruling Pushtun tribes." "Despite attempts by the Pakistani intelligence service to organize a joint offensive," S. Harrison concludes, "differences within the opposition ranks are growing..."

As for political clashes between various groupings, they ultimately boil down to a power struggle.

A substantial watershed exists between the field commanders and the politicians ensconced in Peshawar. The field commanders are increasingly coming to realize the senselessness of further bloodshed. Moreover, the "Peshawar people" have frequently disregarded the fighters' opinions when resolving such questions as the composition of the "provisional government" and even

the planning of military operations that led to numerous losses. On the other hand, Kabul's national reconciliation policy is bearing fruit. Many commanders have already responded positively to the Kabul government's proposal to enter into contacts with representatives of the authorities with a view to restoring peace and security. Some of their emissaries have taken part in the Loya Jirga, supporting efforts to end the bloodshed.

Some of the opposition are gradually coming to realize that they are only a tool in other people's hands and are defending interests alien to the Afghan people. By and large it is becoming obvious that the "hardliners" are slipping into the role of mercenaries and sidekicks of the United States, Pakistan, or Saudi Arabia. The lesson learned at Jalalabad must obviously serve to further constrain those people who hold extremist positions, rejecting a peaceful settlement and the path of national reconciliation.

Rebels Must Earn Trust by End of Fighting Season
PM1107131989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Afghan Reportage", followed by article by Yu. Tyssovskiy: "Dollar 'Jihad'"]

[Text] Kabul, 8 Jul—Units and subunits from the Jalalabad garrison continue to consolidate the successes gained in the course of a massed counteroffensive against extremist formations in Nangarhar Province.

New firing positions are being set up in population centers that have been recaptured, and armored equipment is being brought up there. The insurgents' positions in many directions are being subjected to missile and aerial bombing attacks.

The extremists suffered the loss of 240 men killed and 118 wounded in the last 24 hours. There were Pakistani and Saudi military instructors among the killed. Several arms and ammunition dumps were captured, including 1,700 "surface-to-surface" missiles and 3,750 shells for recoilless rifles.

According to BAKHTAR reports, many thousands of citizens attended a rally in Jalalabad, where the participants expressed full readiness to assist the local garrison units that routed the insurgents on the approaches to the city.

This morning the insurgents again fired missiles at the Afghan capital. Eight city residents were killed, including women and children. A further four people were wounded. Several buildings were partially damaged. It is also reported that extremists have shelled a number of population centers in Paktia Province over the last 24 hours. There are victims among the civilian population. [end of TASS report]

Kabul—Whenever the bodies of mujahidin killed in battle are brought back to widowed Afghan women and orphaned children in camps on Pakistani territory—the families' sole breadwinners in many cases—the refugees ask just one single question: "When will peace finally come to our country?" In Munda, one of the camps lying 44 km north of Peshawar, elderly parents sit by the body of their son Ghulam, who was recently married and then killed in battle, and their laments echo all around. The mujahidin who brought back the deceased are unanimous that peace must triumph in Afghanistan but, they ask, who will take the first step in this direction. Widows Hazrat Bibi, Islam Bibi, Sharaf Ghula, and Salih—each with a family of between three and eight children—speak in a single voice: "We don't know how we'll go on living. Poor people fight, but if they are killed no one wants to know how their children will live. The rich don't fight, and yet they have everything..."

This sad picture was described in the pages of the newspaper MUSLIM published in Islamabad, and it truthfully shows who it is that suffers as a result of the "jihad" (holy war) declared against the "communist regime" in Kabul by leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" in Peshawar. Indeed, it is not the "fat cats" from the "Islamic parties" in opposition to the Afghan Government, entrenched under the Pakistani authorities' wing, who bear the weight of burdens and privations—they only make money from the bloodshed, remitting tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars to safe accounts in Zurich and London, living in luxury and making no secret of it. When Abdul Khaliq Khan, one of the leaders of Pakistan's Awami National Party, spoke incriminating words under the roof of the National Assembly, describing the war waged by the insurgents in Afghanistan as a dollar "jihad" and the mujahidin themselves as bandits, murderers, and cutthroats, his words generated approval among many sober-minded Pakistanis, who perceived them as a statement of fact, and a storm of indignation among parliamentarians who continue to bank on the "transitional government" in Peshawar, Islamabad and Washington's proteges.

It was a real pleasure to listen to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in early June when she was on her way to Washington for an official visit. You got the impression that Pakistan was about to abandon unrealistic attempts to plant a "friendly" government formed by ISI, the [Pakistani] Army intelligence service, on "the throne in Kabul." In an interview with "Voice of America," she declared: "In my view, Pakistan has constantly strived for a political settlement in Afghanistan. But somehow, following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, we failed to present this viewpoint to everyone, and it started to appear as if Pakistan was banking on a military solution. I wish to dispel any such impression."

But, having got hold of 60 F-16 combat fighters and promises of generous economic aid on the banks of the Potomac, Benazir Bhutto changed the tone of her statements. No, really, she is still in favor of a "political"

settlement, but a settlement that would totally rule out participation by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in this process. In other words, the prime minister started talking with a clearly audible American accent and, furthermore, adopted a concept—which has failed the test of time—put forward by sundry "Afghanologists" from the Rand Corporation who, in a recent secret report, recommended that the White House not make any changes in its Afghan policy and give the mujahidin a chance to continue military operations by supplying them with arms suitable to be used in "the war for the cities."

Let us lend an ear to Mr Howard Shaffer, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. Testifying before members of a congressional subcommittee, he described the dollar "jihad" as a "war of liberation against a puppet regime imposed by the Soviet Union against the will of the Afghan people." H. Shaffer declared that "the key to a political settlement is to be found in Moscow," which supposedly should hand over power in Kabul to the Peshawar lot, in other words it should do what they have been unable to achieve by force of arms in almost 5 months now. The "Kabul regime" which Washington hates not only did not fall but is actually consolidating its prestige with each passing day, while it has been universally admitted that the "freedom fighters" have been degraded to the status of mercenaries fighting with U.S. weapons and paid with Saudi Arabian petrodollars for the sake of implementing the Pakistani military's plans.

Asked whether U.S. aid to the insurgents is associated with Washington's strategic interests in Afghanistan or is being rendered on the basis of "moral considerations," H. Shaffer declared that the United States has no strategic interests there and the aid is of an exclusively "moral" nature. So how are we to explain the talk about Pakistan's "strategic importance" for the United States? Have you ever heard of a country, for nothing but selfless and "moral" considerations, supplying anyone with weapons worth almost $3 billion in just a few years? This is precisely the gift presented to the Afghan armed opposition by the United States. As far as morals are concerned, the victims of these weapons today are mainly women and children in Afghan cities in the wake of barbaric shelling, totally indiscriminate and blatantly aimed at the civilian population.

But what is happening in the camp of the "implacables" meanwhile? The immigrants' stance became much more rigid following B. Bhutto's voyage across the ocean, and the Peshawar lot continue to yearn for war "until the victorious end," and even take the liberty of "yapping at the elephant," the United States, demanding that it officially recognize the "transitional government." For example, they refused to meet Peter Tomsen, Washington's recently appointed special envoy to their "government," and brush aside Islamabad's proposals for a "political settlement" of the conflict which, if the truth be told, are far from realistic. Briefly speaking, they are still banking on the force of arms.

People in the United States believe that the "fighting season" (the season of combat operations) will last another 4 months and in this time the Hikmatyars, Sayafs, Mujadeddis, Rabbanis, and others of their ilk must "earn" the trust placed in them and prove that they are worth something. This is a rather dubious calculation. One thing is clear, though—Afghanistan is due for a "hot" summer, and the fall seems unlikely to be any calmer.

This Summer May Be Mujahidin's Last Big Chance
PM1007103389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[A. Golts article: "Afghan Passes"]

[Excerpts] UPI reported the other day on a briefing for journalists held by a State Department spokesman who wished to remain anonymous. The diplomatic department staffer reported that "the next few months will be of great and decisive importance in carrying through efforts to defeat the Kabul government." In his opinion, the "hardliners" will not be slow to exploit the fact that the snow, which had allegedly hitherto restricted the bandit formations' mobility, has started melting in the northern mountains. In the very near future, this expert believes, there will be strikes against Qandahar and other provincial centers. Essentially, Washington has thus announced to the entire world its new calculations as backer of the hardline opposition. The Americans are clearly recommending that the "Peshawar Seven" continue the war in Afghanistan at all costs—despite the fact that the hope of rapidly seizing power has long since crumbled; despite the losses; despite the defeat at Jalalabad.

And this is not just advice, it is being reinforced politically: An official Washington spokesman is setting off for the insurgents' camp. It is also reinforced materially: The scale of shipments of the most modern arms to the insurgents has increased sharply of late. And the "hardline" leadership is not indebted; it swears its resolve to wage the war until "final victory." In the current situation one cannot fail to see that the armed opposition and its overseas patrons are now making perhaps their last big play to seize power this summer.

When you read reports confirming this, when the TASS teletype machines churn out the latest news of a missile attack on Kabul and other cities, one thinks of those who are currently repulsing the insurgents' frenzied onslaught. Those who have undertaken the difficult responsibility of defending the revolution. It was their resolve, will, intelligence, and, ultimately, military skill that the U.S. analysts who predicted the fall of the government back in April or May failed to take into account. But will the Republic's defenders withstand the onslaught this time?

In an attempt to answer this question, I return to the impressions of my recent trip to Afghanistan. I saw the servicemen of the Republic's Armed Forces—soldiers, officers, and generals—in action during the operations to clear the Kabul-Hayratan Highway in the area of the Salang Pass. The snow then, contrary to the U.S. expert's claims, was by no means an ally of the government troops. They crossed the snow to the insurgents' weapon emplacements, which were operational once more following artillery shelling. For some reason the snow in the Salang was covered with ashes from explosions and blood...

But the men of three infantry divisions who had just returned from the fighting did not mention losses to me. They talked about the victory they had just won. About how, despite fierce resistance, they took the bandits' positions and opened the road which supplies the country with its necessities. It was one of the first victories and they were happy. [passage omitted]

When I remember these meetings, I think that, whatever plans have been drawn up in Peshawar with the help of foreign advisers, they are doomed to failure. After all, it is not a question of snow. It is a question of these people, who have recognized that they are the defenders of their motherland, who have been fearless, and who have known the joy of victory. As long as they fight, the insurgents will not gain the upper hand.

Of course, we cannot fail to mention the military-political leaders. These people coped with an extremely difficult situation in early spring. They have acquired considerable experience in leading troops and making effective use of the reserves and powerful military hardware at their disposal. But this is not the only thing I want to say. I have just been talking with Comrade Najibullah. The president and supreme commander-in-chief talked about the features of the situation. His analysis revealed a political figure of state significance. My attention was drawn to how clearly he linked purely military problems with the resolution of political tasks both within the country and in the international arena.

The same approach is typical of the defense minister. I witnessed his intensive work in the Salang, and at Bagram and Kabul. And now, resolving entirely specific military missions: Transferring reserves near Jalalabad, developing the offensive at the Salang, and defending the Bagram airfield from insurgent missiles, he clearly indicated to his subordinates the role of certain operations in resolving common military-political tasks.

Of course, things have been very difficult for these courageous people for the past few months. They bear the responsibility of making decisions on which the country's destiny depends. Today, somewhere at distant outposts or on the passes, Afghan soldiers are repulsing insurgent attacks. Today all the Republic's Armed Forces, from foot-soldier to supreme commander-in-chief, are defending its future at a highly complex point in its history. And I believe that they will triumph.

Pakistan's Domestic Situation, Afghan War Viewed
PM0607140789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent V. Shurygin dispatch: "Pakistan: Expectation of Change"]

[Text] Islamabad-Moscow, Jun—The first thing I noticed when I stepped onto the scorching tarmac at Karachi Airport was the soldiers carrying assault rifles standing by the aircraft gangway and carefully scrutinizing the passengers. Later during my 2-week trip to Pakistan I often met people in military uniform in the role of politicians, businessmen, administrators, and diplomats. I think the Pakistanis have now grown accustomed to military men holding so many posts in the country's social, political, and economic life, for generals have ruled Pakistan for most of its 42-year history. The 11-year rule of General Ziaul Haq, who died in an air crash last August, was particularly protracted and harsh.

Pakistanis still seem unable to believe and understand why the military did not—as often happened—then put another general in power but allowed parliamentary elections to be held and did not impede the appointment of a civilian prime minister, and a woman at that. It is said that General Aslam Beg, current chief of staff of the Ground Forces, who held a key position in the military hierarchy, played an important role in this. It is believed that as a supporter of the democratic process, he made no attempt to don Ziaul Haq's dictatorial mantle. Moreover, this was also unsafe. In its 11-year rule the military regime so discredited itself that a cosmetic repair job would have provoked extensive protest throughout the country and reinforced centrifugal trends.

The coming to power of the civilian administration headed by the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] was greeted with enthusiasm both within the country and abroad. Hopes of substantial changes in Pakistani domestic and foreign policy were linked with this, but these changes have not, however, as yet taken place. Of course, Pakistanis can breathe more freely under the new government. As a result of the amnesty, people who spent years languishing in military torture chambers have returned to active political life. Today Pakistani newspapers are openly discussing all aspects of government activity. They carry many highly critical articles and commentaries. At the same time, the burden of the past and the unsolved nature of many urgent problems can be sensed in the country's life.

One of the greatest difficulties facing Benazir Bhutto's government is the very grave economic legacy. "The government is unpopular if it collects a lot in taxes and spends little on social needs," Arshad Zaman, chief

economist in the planning commission and an experienced financier, educated in the United States, who worked in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for 5 years, said during a conversation with me. In his opinion, the government will have to do both to make ends meet. Defense appropriations, which form approximately one-third of the state budget, are above all the cause of the economic strain.

Servicing the ever-increasing foreign debt is another large item of expenditure. Foreign financial aid is a drug, THE PAKISTAN TIMES writes. In small doses it stimulates the vital activity of the economic organism, but in large doses it oppresses it, and once it becomes a habit it is an incurable disease. The latter is what has happened to Pakistan.

Despite the fact that foreign debt payments gobble up more than $1 billion annually, the 5-year plan for Pakistan's economic development for the period 1989-1993 envisages foreign borrowing totaling $11.7 billion. He who pays the piper calls the tune. Under pressure from the IMF and Pakistan's other creditors, the government has been forced to increase taxes and prices for goods and services, which will primarily burden the poorest strata of the country's population, whose standard of living is quite low enough already.

The democratization of the life of society after the gloomy years of military rule is proceeding under conditions of acute internal political struggle. The opposition, in the form of the Islamic Democratic Alliance, has not come to terms with its election defeat and is trying by various means to create difficulties in government at both the central and local level. It is not so hard to do this given the current alignment of political forces in the country.

The point is that the PPP does not have an actual majority in the lower house of parliament and it was forced to recruit other parties to form a government. The opposition has the majority in the upper house and heads the government in the largest province—the Punjab—where approximately one-half of the country's population live.

The government must pay a great deal of attention to maintaining law and order. There is still a particularly tense situation in Sind Province and its center, the city of Karachi. "Our city is multinational," Syed Qaim Ali Shah, the province's chief minister, said. "Among Karachi's 5-million population, in addition to the indigenous Sind inhabitants there are immigrants from India—Muhajirun, Punjabis, Pathans, and Baluchistanis—Afghan refugees, and immigrants from other countries of South and Southeast Asia."

Even a short stay in Karachi gives one the impression that the situation there has become extremely aggravated. Ethnic and religious clashes occur practically every day.

Some local political observers describe the current stage in the development of the situation in Pakistan as multiple authority [mnogovlastiye]. The Army is still the most powerful political force in the country. Right-wing Muslim fundamentalist parties are affiliated to it. As a result of the constitutional amendments made by the former regime, Pakistan's President Ishaq Khan has been vested with broad and virtually unlimited powers. The ruling party's attempts to raise the question of their abrogation and a return to the more democratic Constitution of 1973 have met with the president's blind opposition. He is supported by the upper echelon of the official bureaucracy. Benazir Bhutto's government must consider the position of all these forces when adopting any serious decisions on questions of domestic and foreign policy. The Pakistani press writes that the military agreed to recognize her appointment as prime minister provided that, in addition to retaining large defense appropriations, she does not nationalize private enterprises and preserves continuity in the former leadership's policy on the Afghan question.

The road from Islamabad to Peshawar passes through a flat rolling plain. Two and a half hours later, after clocking up something like 180 km, my small, nippy hired "Toyota" drove into the suburbs of the administrative center of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province. At first glance Peshawar leads the ordinary lifestyle of an eastern city. There are crowds at the markets and in the trading centers, while throngs of various types of transport ranging from luxurious "Mercedes" to pedicabs create a cacophony of noise. Calls to the faithful to give praise to Allah, amplified by loudspeakers, resound throughout the city from the numerous mosques. But one is more conscious of the Afghan tragedy here than in Islamabad. On entering the city you see along the highway long lines of tents and adobe shacks inhabited by Afghan refugees. Young Afghan mujahidin in khaki garb mooch around the streets. In general, the whole atmosphere is redolent of tension ready to explode at any minute in submachinegun fire.

Peshawar is the home of the Afghan mujahidin's so-called "transitional government." A great deal is being written and said in Pakistan about this creation of Islamabad, Riyadh, and Washington. The opposition parties in the Islamic Democratic Alliance are demanding that Benazir Bhutto recognize the "transitional government." Military men grouped around Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency [ISI]—the main patron of the Afghan armed opposition—are also doing this. While offering all manner of support to the Afghan extremists, the Pakistani Government is, however, in no hurry to give them official recognition.

The program for my trip to Peshawar included an interview with Sebqatullah Mujaddedi, "president" and leader of the small "National Liberation Front of Afghanistan" Party. Mujaddedi, Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, and Nabi Muhammadi are considered the moderates in the "Peshawar Seven," given to compromise and

favoring the restoration of a setup in Afghanistan whereby power is concentrated in the hands of tribal leaders and the center is weak. They are in favor of former Afghan King Zahir Shah, exiled in Italy, taking part in resolving the conflict. The extremist grouping containing parties led by "hardliners"—such leaders as G. Hikmatyar, Y. Khalis, B. Rabbani, and R. Sayyaf—advocate a centralized state founded on the principles of Muslim fundamentalism.

Mujaddedi's home proved difficult to find in an area of luxurious houses behind high, impenetrable walls. I had to stop on several occasions at houses protected by armed guards to ask the right way. We finally arrived at our goal.

Naturally, I was interested above all in the prospects for a cessation of the fratricidal bloodshed and the restoration of peace on long-suffering Afghan soil.

Mujaddedi's words did not increase our optimism. He said the cessation of military confrontation in Afghanistan is possible only if the government troops capitulate and the Kabul government hands over all power to the mujahidin. That is an ultimatum rather than a call for compromise.

Unfortunately, the question of the fate of the Soviet prisoners of war held by the mujahidin was not cleared up either. I was told at the USSR Embassy in Islamabad that people there are making every effort to secure the release of our guys from jail.

However, it was hard to expect specific answers. There is no unity within the opposition. Mujahidin detachments formed on a clan, ethnic, or religious basis are uncoordinated and only acknowledge their own leader—all discipline within the detachment hangs on loyalty and faithfulness to the latter. Dissension is intensified by the effect of outside forces, each of which is gambling on a definite grouping.

It is universally recognized, for instance, that Pakistan's ISI and the right-wing Muslim opposition parties support G. Hikmatyar above all. It is his detachments that receive the lion's share of the Western weapons and financial and material aid. People believe that R. Sayyaf, leader of an extremely small party, could only have obtained the post of prime minister of the "transitional government" thanks to Saudi financial support. The "Alliance of Eight" based in Iran is in turn considering the interests of this country's leaders, who have many disputes with the Saudi leaders. The U.S. Administration also has an equivocal attitude to the individual Afghan opposition groupings, fearing a sharp flareup of anti-U.S. sentiments for religious reasons, as happened in Iran.

My trip to Pakistan also reflected the positive changes that are taking place: For a number of years official Islamabad refused PRAVDA correspondents visas. I can say that despite the long period of estrangement in relations between our countries, many Pakistanis are still well disposed toward Soviet people. I saw this for myself during my visit to facilities constructed through Soviet-Pakistani cooperation, particularly the largest of these, a metallurgical plant in Karachi.

"Following the completion of construction in 1985," Anatoliy Kirillovich Pelenov, chief Soviet specialist and engineer, said, "the plant immediately began to acquire satellite enterprises processing its output. There are now almost two dozen of these. Thus a ceremony recently took place to celebrate the beginning of the construction of a large plant producing small automobiles with the participation of the Japanese firm 'Suzuki.'"

The Pakistani side has expressed a desire to continue cooperation in increasing the plant's capacity from 1.1 million to 1.5 million and then to 3 million tonnes of smelted steel per year. In Pelenov's opinion, this is a mutually beneficial transaction.

Under conditions of commodity starvation in our country's consumer market, Viktor Nikolayevich Koptevskiy, the USSR's trade representative in Pakistan, said during a conversation with me that economic ties and commodity turnover with Pakistan are assuming great importance. Commodity turnover between the two countries amounted to $200 million in 1988. We buy light women's and children's clothing, cotton fabrics, and leather goods here. Our stores have recently sold 15-18 million men's shirts made in Pakistan per year. There are opportunities for increasing these supplies.

I want to stress, Viktor Nikolayevich continued, that broadening commodity turnover with such countries as India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka may help us solve the problem of saturating our market with many consumer goods, on a noncurrency [bezvalyutnyy] basis, moreover. We must have a developed concept for economic and trade cooperation with developing countries. We must obviously renounce unnecessary politicization of our economic ties and be guided more by our country's economic interests.

...Pakistan has been in the position of a front-line state, owing to its involvement in Afghan affairs, for approximately 10 years now. One is conscious that the Pakistanis have clearly grown tired of this. It is still hard to tell now how long Islamabad's policy will be determined by circles advocating interference in Afghan internal affairs and how rapidly —if indeed at all—the process of democratization in Pakistan will gain momentum. But people expect changes. Changes for the better.

Primakov Receives Iranian Ambassador

LD1107161189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1517 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jul (TASS)—Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union—one of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—received in the

Kremlin today Naser Heyrani-Nobari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the latter's request. Issues were discussed concerning certain practical aspects of further developing Soviet-Iranian relations, including interparliamentary contacts, as well as the situation in the Near and Middle East.

Iran's Ties With USSR, U.S., W. Europe Viewed

NC2906203889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] As has been reported, the outcome of the recent visit by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Majlis and acting commander-in-chief of the Iranian Armed Forces, was endorsed by the Cabinet. In his remarks during this meeting, Iran's Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati pointed out that as a result of this visit an agreement was signed with the Soviet Union which is of great significance as far as the expansion of bilateral relations is concerned.

In Iran great importance is being attached to the international significance of the agreement with the Soviet Union in which the true fruits of the new political outlook are being seen. The TEHRAN TIMES points out that the objective behind this outlook is to (?express thoughts) and not to show strength. This newspaper believes that the Soviet-Iranian talks have had a marked impact on the strengthening of stability and security for the peoples of the region. At the same time, the TEHRAN TIMES believes that no new outlook yet rules Iran's relations with the United States and West Europe.

One cannot disagree with this view. Relations between Iran and the United States can be described as uncertain, at best, and confrontational at worst. Washington has not yet ended its policy of economic siege on Iran, which is viewed by all as a vestige of the past. U.S. monopolies and banks still, as in the past, refuse to return assets to Iran that were once exported from the country by members of the royal family.

Iran's economic and commerical relations with Western countries are facing a crisis in many respects. Undoubtedly, the greatest share of the blame for this lies with Western countries. However, we think that the Iranian side, too, has not taken every opportunity to normalize the situation. How can one forget the fact that tension between Iran and West European governments emerged over the decree issued in Tehran on killing Salman Rushdie, the British author of "The Satanic Verses"? This was taken by the entire world as a sign of Iran's encouragement of international terrorism. However, specific circles in the West used the death decree as a pretext to increase pressures on Iran.

After the death of Ayatollah Khomeyni, Iran's religious and political leader, the situation in relation to the Rushdie novel eased to a certain extent. However, no specific and clear view has been expressed so far on abrogating the death decree.

It seems that in the situation after Khomeyni's death, not all directives and policies of the new Iranian leadership on domestic problems and foreign affairs have yet been determined. Overcoming old approaches and hackneyed methods is not an easy task. But a political trend aimed at improving international relations stemming from a new political outlook cannot be ignored.

Soviet-Iranian talks have taken place in the new political atmosphere for some time now, and this yielded extremely positive fruits during the visit paid by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to the Soviet Union. The important point here is mutual respect, goodwill, and mutual trust.

The joint Soviet-Iranian communique on the outcome of the visit points out that the two countries believe that the exchanges of views between them were useful and constructive; met the interests, ideals, and national sovereignty of the two nations; and paved the way for the strengthening of peace and stability in the region and throughout the world. The Soviet public agrees with this assessment of the political talks between Iran and the Soviet Union.

PLO Official Says Israel Guilty of 'Genocide'

LD1107161589 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—"Israel has been conducting a thoroughly planned campaign on the occupied territories at present to totally extirpate Palestinian society," Nabil Amr, an extraordinary representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation to the USSR, told a news conference here today.

He noted that the situation on the occupied territories has dramatically complicated in recent days. The Israeli authorities are engaged in genocide against Palestinians.

"Palestinian children fall victim to murders planned in advance," Nabil Amr said. "Palestinians come under unprovoked attacks on the streets of cities and populated localities. There have been repeated attempts to burn Palestinians to death. Their deportation from the seized territories is continued. Invaders blew off some 80 houses belonging to Palestinians in the past month and their occupants were left homeless."

Nabil Amr said he had authentic information that poisoned food products began to be supplied to the occupied territories.

The fact that Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin demanded 200 million dollars from the government to finance operations on the occupied territories demonstrates that reprisals are being toughened still more.

Nabil Amr described the escalation of reprisals as a war against peace. "The actions by the Israeli leaders bear out that Israel does not intend to launch any initiatives for peace in the region," he stressed. "The baneful nature of this course is becoming obvious to Israelis themselves. Intifadah cannot be suppressed by force and neither the Israeli Army nor the security can achieve this."

Nabil Amr described the initiatives by the Israeli Peace Now movement, which enjoys an increasingly wider support in Israel, including of several ministers, as positive. These initiatives can also be acceptable for Palestinians who favour cooperation with Israel's democratic forces and hold regular and open meetings with their representatives.

Nabil Amr said that the U.S. Administration, which adopts a wait-and-see stance, shoulders increased responsibility for the developments on the occupied territories. "Nobody will believe that the United States is unable to bring pressure to bear on Israel," he said.

At the same time, Nabil Amr noted that the USSR pursues a very constructive and balanced policy in the Middle East, aimed at attaining a lasting and just peace in the region.

PLO Urged To Condemn Bus Attack in Israel

TA0707194089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Commentary by Dimitriy Prokofyev]

[Text] The tragic event on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway is a despicable terrorist act against innocent people. There is no justification for such actions, whatever the motive. It is the duty of all sane people, regardless of their views on Middle East political developments, to denounce this heinous attack.

I hope the Palestine national leadership will respond in a similar vein and prove that its decision to dissociate itself from all forms of terrorism is not just a political declaration, but reflects Palestinian policy in practice.

From a humanitarian viewpoint this was a grave crime, but it is perhaps no less a crime from an operational political viewpoint. The bloody attack on the Egged bus was a serious blow to the Middle East peace process, perhaps no less than the Likud Central Committee's blow the previous day. The reactions recorded in the hours after the attack show that hostility toward the Arabs has been strengthened in Israeli circles.

After the PLO's months-long peace offensive on Israeli public opinion, extremists from the Islamic Jihad ruined everything. If the main loser from the attack on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway is the moderate wing of the Palestine national leadership, the main winner is Mr Yitzhaq Shamir. On the face of it, it is a paradoxical conclusion, and even damaging to the prime minister's honor. I, of course, do not want to say that Mr Shamir was in any way interested in the murder of innocent Jews. The contrary is true. But whether you wish it or not, he is the winner, nonetheless, because look what happened: After buckling under to the right-wing extremists in the Likud Central Committee and appending to his peace initiative the four clauses of Sharon, Levi, and Moda'i, it appeared that the unity government's days were numbered.

It is the start of the disbanding of the government, said Minister 'Ezer Weizman, who received the backing of the majority of Alignment ministers. It had been decided to convene the Labor Party Central Committee Thursday night to decide on ending the partnership with the Likud. The fatal attack changed everything. The Central Committee meeting was canceled, and the Alignment is no longer talking about disbanding the government, at least in the near future, which is understandable and natural since the electorate will not understand how at a time when terrorists are killing innocent people, the government is being disbanded.

There is another issue I would like to refer to in this context. Israeli leaders claim at each opportunity that there will never be any negotiations with the PLO under any circumstances. Shamir and his people have not given up their efforts to search for an alternative to the current Palestinian leadership. They have found the Islamic Jihad, which murders innocent people. The long years of total Israeli boycott of the PLO have borne fruit. Many in the Palestinian camp have lost hope in political solutions and look to the false prophets of Islamic fundamentalism; they receive blood-covered knives from them. I, of course, have no intention of holding the Israeli Government responsible for the fatal attack on the Egged bus. The Israeli leadership bears responsibility for its own extremist actions, and there is no need to blame it for the extremist actions by those on the other side. But in conclusion, it might be wise to quote from the Citizens Rights Movement announcement published after the attack: When the gates to peace are shut, the gates to terrorism are opened. Responsibility for closing the gates to peace lies with the Likud leadership.

Cooperation With Kuwait To Increase

PM1007133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Expansion of Mutually Advantageous Ties"]

[Text] Kuwait, 29 June—A visit to Kuwait by a Soviet economic delegation headed by V.F. Mordvinov, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic ties, ended today.

The first session of the Soviet-Kuwaiti standing commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation took place during this visit. 'Abd al-Razzaq Mulla Husayn headed the Kuwaiti side at the talks.

The sides noted with satisfaction the successful expansion of mutually advantageous ties in various spheres. The commission established the basic directions for developing cooperation in the sphere of the petroleum industry, banking, trade, medicine and sport.

Particular attention was focused on questions of accelerating exchange operations in petroleum and petroleum products.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentator Views Africa Tour by U.S.'s Cohen

LD0807195489 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 8 Jul 89

[From the "Africa As We See It" program: (Mikhail Tulayev) commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The United States assistant secretary of state, Herman Cohen, continues his tour of a number of African countries. Commentary is by (Mikhail Tulayev).

The tour is regarded as a fact-finding one. This is how Herman Cohen himself called it. He is a new man in the Bush administration. He is responsible for the United States policies toward Africa. Mr Cohen started his tour in South Africa, which is the centerpiece of the United States African diplomatic strategy. The 10-day voyage presupposes visits to Ivory Coast, the Congo, Zambia, Mozambique, and a number of other countries, as well as participation in the session of the trilateral commission in Angola, where Mr Cohen is to meet his Soviet counterpart, Anatoliy Adamishin.

Those who like symbolics and historical parallels would be interested to learn that the tour coincided with the 25th anniversary of the American act on the rights of citizens that equated the rights of black Americans with those of the whites. Time and place are different, but South Africans are now facing the same problem, the solution of which was sought by the descendants of African slaves brought to the United States, and that is the abolition of racial discrimination and the granting of equal rights.

American diplomacy links its resolution with the new leader of the Nationalist Party, Frederik de Klerk, whom Cohen called an obviously rational politician. Under President Reagan, the American policy toward South Africa was garishly labeled constructive cooperation. It is evident Washington does not intend to abandon it now. As in the past years, the new administration is intransigent as regards the all-embracing sanctions against South Africa. It has complicated relations with the African National Congress, as the Defense Department has put it on the list of terrorist organizations.

Quite obviously, there are positive trends in Washington's African policy. Its realistic approach to the Namibian problem, businesslike and calmly cooperation with the Soviet Union largely influenced the resolution of a longstanding crisis in Southwest Africa. The United States can no lesser influence on the settlement of the situation in Angola. [preceding two sentences as heard] In the many years of the feud there, the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] got both moral and material American support. The process of reconciliation demands that former policies be revised and habitual approaches abandoned. The positive solution is dependent to a great degree of Herman Cohen, whose opinion will be heard by the secretary of state, James Baker, and President Bush himself. Time will show how much of the hopes pinned on Herman Cohen will materialize. So far, he is getting acquainted with Africa and its problems.

SWAPO Expected To Win Namibian Elections

MB0207132989 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Since 1 April 1989 work has been in progress aimed at granting independence to Namibia. That is, South Africa's colony.

The effort is based on the United Nations Security Council resolution and on the agreements on a political settlement in South-West Africa reached between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa 6 months ago; 1 July marks the beginning of another stage in Namibia's decolonization.

Our South-West Africa correspondent has sent us these details. On 1 July, election campaigns were launched officially in Namibia. Under the United Nations plan, elections to the constituent assembly are scheduled for November. A spokesman for the colonial administration, Gerhard Roux, has announced that the registration of voters will begin on 3 July. All residents of the colony over 18 years of age and also Namibians living in neighboring countries have the right to vote.

Several dozen parties existing in Namibia may claim the votes of about 400,000 voters, but only tvcdlhave the opportunity to be broadly represented in a constituent assembly. They are the South-West African People's Organization, SWAPO, that has been fighting for Namibia's independence for many years, and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, uniting the party of Whites, and also 10 organizations of the African and Colored population.

As far as SWAPO is concerned, no one who is familiar with the situation in Namibia has any doubt that it is going to win the election. This certainty is based on the

prestige earned by SWAPO in the course of the nearly 30-year-long struggle for the freedom of the Namibians. But it's not known if SWAPO will succeed in gaining two-thirds of the seats in the constituent assembly. If it does, this will enable it to avoid a need to form a coalition and pass through the assembly a draft of the progressive constitution for independent Namibia.

SWAPO joins the election campaign with a program calling for the establishment of a democratic state where equal rights will be ensured to all citizens regardless of their color. SWAPO sees future Namibia as a nonaligned state giving support to the struggle of the people in South Africa against apartheid.

SWAPO's program and a prospect of it coming to power are unsuitable to South Africa. The colonial authorities, therefore, seek to prevent it at least from winning two-thirds of the seats in the assembly. The police force have lately been intimidating those who plan to vote for SWAPO candidates. Militants from the special unit, Koevoet [police counterinsurgency unit], notorious for its fatalities committed in the past and now made part of the police, are particularly zealous about that.

United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has expressed concern about this situation. He underlined that the atmosphere of fear and intimidation makes it difficult to create conditions for free and just elections in Namibia. Perez de Cuellar intends to discuss this problem with the South African authorities in the middle of July during another of his visits to Africa.

Vingogradov on South Africa Missile Program

PM1107141189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Old Positions"]

[Text] Of course, the attainment of national reconciliation in Angola is the paramount theme for the African mass media. The cease-fire agreement was even welcomed by the South African authorities, which have long supported the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] terrorist grouping's insurgents fighting against the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola. "If the reports on this are true," South African Foreign Minister R. Botha, among others, stated, "the cease-fire could be the main step toward national reconciliation in Angola."

Nevertheless, South Africa's ruling circles are taking steps which clearly do not correspond to the Angolan events, to be precise, they are increasing their militarist efforts and the country's military potential. For example, the country's air force has been conducting large-scale maneuvers lasting 5 days in three South African provinces—Cape Province, the Orange Free State, and Natal. Their aim, according to General P. Steyn, the Air Force chief, was to "check the general readiness of the Air Force and of South Africa's air defense systems."

The fact that Pretoria has conducted air force maneuvers is highly indicative. There is surely no branch of the armed forces more designed for carrying out offensive operations than combat aviation. Just remember how many missile and bomb attacks the South African Air Force has carried out in recent years against the front-line states, sowing death and destruction there! That is why the South African leadership pays such great attention to its air forces. It not only organizes regular war games involving them but also supplies them with the most modern war machines. Two years ago, for instance, South Africa's military industry, with Israeli help, began series production of the new Cheetah fighter-bomber. And it immediately began supplying the plane to the country's Air Force. In the very near future South Africa's pilots will have another new plane at their disposal—the Kava [name as transliterated] tactical fighter—which is also being produced by the South African military industry. This machine, so South African Air Force generals claim, will be superior to any of their existing warplanes in engine capacity and flight range and altitude.

But no matter how far and high the Kava can fly, the South African staffs understand that there will still be spatial limitations on its use, especially in flight range. But missiles are a lot better. And it turns out that South Africa is preparing very actively to test a medium-range ballistic missile, which is being developed, incidentally, with Israeli help again. According to a report in THE WASHINGTON TIMES, which cited U.S. intelligence information, this missile, work on which began in 1987, is a modernized version of the Israeli Jericho-2. It is currently at the Armston test range near Cape Town, and tests could be held in the next few weeks.

The appearance of this ballistic missile in the armory of the South African military, THE WASHINGTON TIMES notes, will provide Pretoria's rulers with the means of delivering warheads, including nuclear ones, over distances up to 1,500 km. Consequently, the existence of this missile will enable the South African Armed Forces to hit targets in all the front-line states, including Angola and Mozambique, from South African territory.

And whereas an official spokesman at the South African Embassy in Washington refused to comment on the reports which have appeared in the U.S. press, saying merely that he is "not informed" about the plan for his country's creation of a ballistic missile, in South Africa itself it has been confirmed that several such missiles have already been prepared and that they are of "good quality," too. A launch site which took 6 years to build has been prepared in the region of Overberg (Cape Province).

So it turns out that at the same time as Namibia has begun moving toward independence and a cease-fire agreement has been reached in Angola, thus opening the way to the further spread of the peace process to all of southern Africa, the authorities in Pretoria are sticking to their old position.

Reaction to De Klerk's European Visit Viewed
MB2906134789 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 26 Jun 89

[From "Panorama of Events" feature]

[Text] A great deal of events have happened in South Africa over the past week. One of the major events was a trip by the leader of the ruling South African party to Western Europe. Frederik De Klerk's trip envisages his meetings with the British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, and the leadership of West Germany, Italy, and Portugal. On a leg of his tour are also meetings with representatives of Swiss banks to discuss postponement of South Africa's foreign debt payments.

Frederik De Klerk still continues his trip. So let's have a look at the reaction to his tour, both in South Africa and abroad.

The South African paper, SOWETAN, says Western Europe should not receive South African leaders until they take real steps to solve the problems facing the country. So far, this paper points out, Frederik De Klerk has failed to prove he wants any radical changes in the policy to abolish apartheid. The democratic organizations in South Africa also point out that if the Western leaders want to see the elimination of apartheid in real terms, they should demand that De Klerk lift the state of emergency, remove bans from the activity of democratic organizations, and release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The leadership of the UDF [United Democratic Front] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] has sharply criticized Frederik De Klerk's visit to Great Britain. Antiapartheid movements staged mass rallies in London to say no to apartheid and to De Klerk. The rallies brought together thousands of people who voiced their protest against the visit to London by one of the South African leaders. The protest was supported by 40 British MPs who made a statement against the visit.

Commentary Assesses 'Decisive' Lusaka Meeting
MB0707094989 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Commentary by Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] I just cannot imagine how we people living on earth will ever communicate with the inhabitants of other planets.

If such a dialogue were to take place, it will be a quite difficult dialogue. I came to this conclusion because I have read numerous transcription books. For a long time, I am following the dialogue taking place among the inhabitants of South Africa. In these talks, they reveal the truths that strike their imagination as if they are representatives of different planets.

Let's recollect our meeting in Dakar, when the white South Africans understood for the first time that the African National Congress [ANC] is not hatching any terrorist plans as regards its fellow countrymen, not by far. It is only coming out against those who are supporting the policy of apartheid.

And how many discoveries were made during the talks of the whites with the representatives of the ANC in Europe and in Lusaka?

Willy-nilly, you have to agree with the South African philosopher, (Herman Ngilume), who calls the white citizens the most (?ill-informed) nation. It does not know what is happening in the African villages and never studied the languages of the blacks and knows about its culture from the film Shaka. Therefore, those soldiers who are sent to patrol African villages often go off their heads, and the ranks of dissidents are considerably increased after the meetings of mutual understanding that are organized in the country by public organizations.

It can now be said with certainty that the latest meeting, in Lusaka, of the whites with the ANC was, to a certain degree, a decisive meeting. Democratically minded representatives of the white community of South Africa appealed to its authorities to lift the ban on the ANC and to give it the right to freely take part in the political life of the country.

In the (?Kugule) communique, a request is noted to lift the state of emergency and to withdraw troops from African villages. Summing up the result of the meeting in Lusaka, Nic Olivier noted that it made it possible to establish new relations of confidence between the sides. We would like to note that, not only those who made up the delegation in Lusaka, but other whites too, understood that the solution of the problems of the country is impossible without the ANC.

To me, as never before, what is needed are not only mutual understanding but joint action, too. In the new program of the Nationalist Party, timed for the elections of 6 September [words indistinct] the former tactic of dividing the people living in one country is being laid. More than that, even the differences in culture are going to be drawn up into a legislative act which hamper the mutual enriching traditions, literature, and theater.

I do not at all share the existing opinion that the few weeks before, and during the first weeks after, the elections will be decisive for the destinies of the country.

The adherents of this viewpoint considered the mass uprisings of the Africans after we were convinced that the new president of South Africa is planning to continue the policy of apartheid, as inevitable. What is not taken account of in such suppositions is the power of the punitive activities of the regime and the dissociation of the movement of the Africans.

This, unfortunately, is vividly shown by the carnage in Natal. You don't have to be a prophet to come to the conclusion that the present situation will not continue for an indefinite time. After all, the (?game) apartheid will hardly be able to [word indistinct] into the 20th century together with a civilized world.

So, won't it be better to lay the foundations of the principles of mutual action today? The principles that unite and divide the citizens of this, their country, citizens that would have to work and live together.

Sutkin Examines Relations With Malawi

MB0707082089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Eliot Sutkin commentary]

[Text] After the promulgation of independence in 1964, Malawi chose the capitalist way of development.

The country's leadership saw precisely in that way the possibility of eliminating the hard (?realities) of colonialism left over by Britain and started to pursue a policy of open doors for foreign capital. In Malawi, foreign capital is enjoying certain privileges: a lower level of duties; a (?high mobility) of private capital; and, what is most important, practically unimpeded export of any amount of coffee.

Foreign companies are largely engaged in the production of tea, tobacco, and corn there, which then are exported. Malawi rates one of the first in Africa in the production of those crops.

At the beginning, at a certain stage, Malawi started its orientation in order to somewhat raise the people's standard of living and solve some social problems, the guarantee of people's education, in particular. However, the [words indistinct] links with the West that looks upon Malawi as a source of cheap agricultural produce and the onesidedness of the national industry have long (?borne) many problems. Today, when the prices of the farming produce are rather low, Malawi is evidently going through an economic decline. The high level of unemployment forces the more than 100,000 Malawians to go off to South Africa to sell their labor, to work in mines and [word indistinct] there. Malawi is the only country in Africa, so far, maintaining diplomatic relations with South Africa. In that [words indistinct] offer a certain political isolation of Malawi. Relatively, where the new political thinking is becoming ever more popular worldwide of which isolation has considerably weakened. The new indication [word indistinct] and work of the conferences for coordination and economic development of the southern African countries and has no right relation with the neighboring states.

Unlike the majority of other African countries, the relations between Malawi and the Soviet Union were confined to the visit of the Soviet delegation of friendship in October of 1965 and to a [words indistinct] Soviet official representative, the festivities marking the Republic Day in Malawi in July 1966. It could be said that, before (?attaining) independence, the USSR invariably and consistently rendered aid to the liberation struggle of the people of Malawi. The Soviet Union recognized Malawi on the day of granting independence to that country and expressed readiness to establish diplomatic relations with this Republic, and that proposal still stands. No matter what the reasons for the lengthy absence of cultural and other ties between our two countries were, we can't recognize that state of affairs as normal, and that is especially evident in the light of (?restructuring) of international relations in the world as a whole.

East Europe

Reaction to Visit by U.S. President to Poland

U.S. May Be Unable To Meet Aid Promises

LD1107145389 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] U.S. President George Bush has completed the first leg of his European tour. Yesterday's stay in Warsaw and his talks with Polish national leaders have evoked predictable interest. Polish observers see a good sign in the fact that over the past 12 months their capital has heard speeches by the leaders of two major powers, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. And here is our report:

Poland has entered a special stage of its development. It's been implementing bold and profound reforms. Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski recently told parliament that major national forces have proved that they can rise above differences and mutual grudges. They can put aside minor considerations, he added, to join each other in restructuring their country. However, Jaruzelski stressed that only those changes will persist that will meet the aspirations of society by helping to raise living standards.

The Polish leader pointed out that the significance of Mr Bush's visit goes beyond bilateral relations. True, a stable democratic and secure Poland is an internal affair of the Poles, but it is also a sensitive indicator of the

European situation and an important factor of the East-West relations as a whole. Poland and the United States belong to different alliances. Poland's security is guaranteed by its allies and that meets the country's vital interests.

Wojciech Jaruzelski looked back at the recent session in Bucharest of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The session renewed the call for simultaneously disbanding the two alliances. New East-West relations were also mentioned by Mr Bush during his Warsaw stay. Speaking in parliament he saw a real chance for building a future Europe by a combined effort. To achieve this goal the two alliances must build their relations on a much lower level of armament. This process is off to a good start with constructive proposals coming on both sides.

While looking at the current Polish reforms, Mr Bush focused on the obstacles in their way. He said America was ready to help Poland now when it was helping itself. The president outlined a six-point aid program. Under the program Poland's repayment of debts to Western creditors is to be put off. The country is to receive a fresh loan from the World Bank and foreign capital is to be invested into its private sector. The program has drawn skeptical comment from the American press. BUSINESS WEEK believes that any Western help to Poland will be conditional. Other observers view that the President may fail to fulfill his generous promises for financial reasons.

'String Attached' to U.S. Aid

LD1107204789 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—Hints on "the need of renunciation" and gradual evolution of Poland's economy, its transition to market mechanisms have been made in American leaders' official and unofficial statements, according to a PAP news analyst. This is the string attached by the United States to its package of financial aid to Poland.

In other words, President George Bush has not brought proposals for an early and considerable financial assistance, but displayed a friendly attitude to Polish economic requirements and support for its efforts to get credits from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the PAP news analyst stressed.

W. Gurnicki, a press representative of the president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, pointed to a gap between American declarations and actual dimensions of the planned aid. Speaking of the three agreements which have been signed, he made it clear that Poland can expect no more but the promised 15 million dollars for Krakow.

There is a certain gap between widespread expectations in Poland and what can be described as concrete facts, Gurnicki said. Many statements have been made and some of them are impressive, he said. A week ago the president of the Council of State sent a letter to the leaders of seven most developed countries of the world, setting forth our intentions and expectations in the economic area. The intentions are mainly linked with concretizing the next stages of Poland's economic reform, lending a market character to its economy and taking actions envisaged by the International Monetary Fund's adaptation programmes.

That letter has rounded off a period of "general phrases" both on the part of Poland and its Western partners.

At journalists' request Gurnicki characterised the Polish-American agreements which were signed on Monday. These are two economic agreements which are to change the structure of the Polish debt of 940 million dollars. This is not a gift but only deferment of payment of the debt.

A 100 million dollar agreement was concluded to form a find [as received] to train Polish managers. It is yet to be approved by the U.S. Congress.

Polish Communique Stresses Disarmament

LD1107193289 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—A communique of the Polish News Agency published after the visit says that in the course of Polish-American talks it was noted that the key importance for the present world belongs to pooling the efforts of, and interaction between all countries regardless of the form of their social structure. These purposes are served by initiatives advanced both by NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. With account taken of Central Europe's strategic significance, those initiatives are of special importance which serve to reduce armaments and build up confidence in the region. Both parties also attach fundamental importance to a comprehensive realization of the principles laid indentified [as received] at the conference on cooperation and security in Europe [CSCE]. The need is stressed of continuing interaction for the sake of peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. And the important role played by the United Nations Organization in forming new international relations is noted.

The document also points out the great importance of the development of Polish-American cooperation in various fields, their dialogue and consultations.

Navy Chief Chernavin Visits Poland's Gdansk

PM1107151989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jul—Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander-in-chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister, who is in Poland on an official

visit, has arrived in Gdansk. He was received by M. Holdakowski, candidate member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee.

The meeting was attended by Rear Admiral P. Kolodziejczyk, commander of the Polish Navy.

Lizichev Receives Polish Army Political Workers
PM1007142689 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit by Polish Political Workers"]

[Text] A delegation of Polish Army political workers headed by Brigadier General M. Michalik, deputy chief of the Polish Army Main Political Directorate for military educational establishments, was in the Soviet Union 4 through 7 July at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, received Brigadier General M. Michalik. The talk took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate the Polish comrades studied the activity of political organs in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, the results of the work of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and also the progress of the restructuring of party political work in the USSR Armed Forces and the higher military school system.

The Polish political workers visited the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy, the Moscow Higher Combined Troops Command School named for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Defense Ministry Institute of Military History.

The delegation left for home.

Soviet Fighter Collides With Polish Glider
PM1207084189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent Lieutenant A Manushkin report under the rubric "Clarification": "Both Sides Were To Blame"]

[Text] Citing PAP, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reported 6 July under the rubric "Stop the Presses" that a Soviet aircraft from a Northern Group of Forces military unit went out of control while on a training flight in the area of Lubin city, Legnica Voivodship, and collided with a "Pirate" type glider. The glider pilot, M. Majewski from the Lubin Aeroclub, was killed in the collision.

Your correspondent has been told at the Air Force headquarters of the Northern Group of Forces that the aircraft did not go out of control. The glider collided with an Su-24 aircraft piloted by a crew headed by flight commander Captain I. Mysnichenko. The aircraft was only slightly damaged and managed to land safely. According to objective air traffic control data, the collision occurred at an altitude of 1,300 meters: Having carried out the exercise, the crew did not maintain the set minimum altitude of 1,500 meters. At the same time, the Polish glider pilot flying above the airfield also failed to keep to the maximum altitude of 1,200 meters set for his flight. The collision occurred as a result of violations on both sides. A special commission is conducting an investigation.

Gorbachev Praises Kadar in Hungarian Paper
LD0807105489 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest July 8 TASS—The newspaper NEPSZABADSAG published a brief statement by Mikhail Gorbachev today where he gives an estimate of Janos Kadar's activities. The Soviet leader made the statement in Bucharest to the paper's correspondent I. Zalai.

Following is the full text of this statement:

In the first hand I would like to express my sincere and deep condolences to Hungarian communists and people over the death of Janos Kadar. We knew him as a convinced and principled communist who was at the same time an outstanding patriot and internationalist, and who firmly adhered to the ideas of Hungarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation. I am aware of severe trials which fell to Janos Kadar's lot, but through his entire life he served the people and consistently fought for the flourishing of the Hungarian nation, socialism's interests, for peace and international security.

By the will of fate, I met Janos Kadar in the late seventies, and very good and cordial relations formed between us. I higly appreciate his natural wisdom, a sense of realism, a vast knowledge of life he was always eager to share, and, what is not the least, Kadar's trademark sense of humour. Janos Kadar knew well that socialism will be able to unlease its potentialities through reforms. In the last years, despite old age and a grave illness, he believed with the conviction of a young man that the future belongs t a renewing socialism. Janos Kadar was a political figure of great dimension and history will credit him for his work.

Condolences Sent to Hungary on Kadar's Death
PM1007150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee and the Hungarian Presidential Council

Dear Comrades!

We learned with profound sorrow of the death of Janos Kadar—a convinced communist, patriot, and internationalist, a true son of the Hungarian people, and our great friend and comrade-in-arms.

For more than 60 years Janos Kadar was in the vanguard of the Hungarian revolutionary workers movement. His name is linked with the overcoming of a complex stage in Hungary's history, its rapid progress along the path of national rebirth, and the growth of its international prestige. Janos Kadar—a prominent figure of modern times—devoted his entire life to selfless service of the cause of social progress and justice, the strengthening of mutual understanding among the peoples, and the struggle for peace and international security.

Communists and all Soviet people highly value Janos Kadar's contribution to the strengthening of the comradely nature of relations between the CPSU and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and between the USSR and Hungary. We will always remember the realistically minded politician, exceptional personality, and courageous man that was Janos Kadar.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee
USSR Supreme Soviet

Ligachev, Dobrynin To Attend Kadar Funeral
LD1107194689 Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that a member of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Yegor Ligachev, and the Soviet president's advisor Anatoliy Dobrynin will take part in the funeral of the former Hungarian leader Janos Kadar, to be held on Friday.

PRAVDA Cites Kadar's Hungarian Obituary
PM1007125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Janos Kadar Dies"]

[Text] Budapest, 6 Jul—The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee has announced with profound regret that Comrade Janos Kadar died this morning after a long and serious illness.

MTI circulated the obituary notice issued by the MSZMP Central Committee, the Hungarian National Assembly, the Hungarian Presidential Council, and the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Janos Kadar, former chairman of the MSZMP, was, the notice says, the party first and then general secretary for decades, a member of the Hungarian Presidential Council, and a deputy to the National Assembly and held the post of head of government twice. He was a politician who devoted his entire life, knowledge, and experience and all his efforts to the good of the Hungarian people and working people and to the struggle for the socialist transformation of the country. Through his humanity, readiness to compromise, and desire for reform, he was able at a difficult time to rally around him Hungary's progressive forces and later the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people. He also helped international recognition of socialist building in Hungary.

Janos Kadar was an outstanding statesman. His life and all his activity served the aspirations of the Hungarian people, who must bring about the country's development.

The obituary notice circulated here was signed by the following members of the MSZMP Presidium: R. Nyers, chairman of the MSZMP; K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP; M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; and I. Pozsgay, Hungarian minister of state. It points out that the spirit of the 20th CPSU Congress was a kind of guiding light in J. Kadar's activity. He showed unshakable principled loyalty to the ideas of the congress.

At the time of J. Kadar's death, while acknowledging his services, we must not be afraid to contest his legacy aand renounce those things that have failed to stand the test of time. At the same time, the obituary indicates, his worthy political ideas must be continued.

Problems of Converting Hungarian Defense Industry
PM0507105389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unnamed PRAVDA correspondent dispatch under the rubric "Socialist Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "This Difficult Conversion"]

[Text] Budapest, 26 Jun—Hungarian industry's orders for the production of goods to meet defense needs have been cut by 30 percent this year.

Citing these data, the Hungarian press also draws attention to the difficulties occasioned by the transfer to nonmilitary purposes of workshops at 80 enterprises producing communications technology systems, instruments, artillery and infantry weapons, and munitions.

Four-fifths of military output went to Warsaw Pact states. But conversion has resulted in a reduction in enterprise income. The transfer to peaceful occupations itself is also difficult. According to specialists' assessments, 4,500 people will be looking for new jobs. Given that there is now unemployment in Hungary and unprofitable enterprises are being eliminated, this "wave" of manpower renders the creation of new jobs imperative. Jobs will also be required for the servicemen who are being discharged from the Army: Parliament has envisaged 17- and 9-percent reductions in military expenditures and the Armed Forces respectively.

Under these conditions, many enterprises manufacturing military output will be dependent on the requirements of the nonmilitary market; they will escape from the "secret" stamp and use joint-stock capital.

Maslyukov Visits GDR, Meets Leaders

Meets Honecker, Stoph

PM1007142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Berlin, 6 Jul—E. Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received here today Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

During a friendly discussion there was a wide-ranging exchange of opinions on the high level of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation achieved between the two countries, and ways of further developing it. The joint resolve for further close collaboration in socialist building was reaffirmed in the context of the results of the meeting between E. Honecker and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 28 June this year.

Yu.D. Maslyukov gave information on the course of the restructuring of the USSR national economy.

The interlocutors stressed that their community of views on fundamental foreign policy issues, as well as their common concepts of the content and ways of deepening socialist economic integration between the GDR and the USSR, are of the greatest importance in the preparations for the 12th SED Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress.

Yu.D. Maslyukov was received by W. Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, the same day.

Holds Coordination Meeting With Schuerer

PM1207085989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference Begins"]

[Text] [No dateline as published] Questions of coordinating the national economic plans of the Soviet Union and the GDR for the period 1991-1995 are the focus of attention of the conference of the two countries' central planning bodies which has opened here.

The Soviet delegation is led by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, while the GDR delegation is led by G. Schuerer, candidate member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission.

GDR Friendship Society Delegation Visits

AU0507072189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Jul 89 p 8

[ADN report: "Delegation of GDR-Soviet Friendship Society Visits Soviet Capital"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—A delegation of the Central Executive Committee of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, headed by its President Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, arrived in Moscow on a visit on Friday [30 June]. Lyudmila Shvetsova, first deputy chairman of the Association of Societies of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation With Other Countries, and Avgust Voss, chairman of the Society of Friendship With the GDR, extended a warm welcome to the delegation.

On Friday, Erich Mueckenberger met with Boris Pugo, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the CPSU Central Party Control Committee.

Economic, Political Relations With GDR Viewed

PM0507150589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "Point of Departure"]

[Text] Berlin—"If bourgeois politicians and ideologists wish to take advantage of the diversity of (socialism's) development and drive a wedge between the socialist countries, this scheme is not fated to materialize. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will continue to perform its duties, will strive to build socialism as efficiently as possible, and will do everything to reach accords with fraternal countries and develop relations with them," according to the SED Central Committee Politburo report just approved by a Central Committee plenum.

As before, the Soviet Union occupies a special position in the system of the GDR's bilateral relations. Now people in the GDR await with keen interest the results of Comrade E. Honecker's visit to Moscow. Every meeting between our countries' top leaders (the last one was held last fall) produces tangible results and is a fresh step in the development of our relations.

The volume of reciprocal goods deliveries reached R14.2 billion last year. Economic relations are developing with complete success but, as with any other development on

such a scale, complexities and problems are inevitable. The pace has slowed in recent years owing to objective reasons, the main cause being the world market prices for raw materials and fuel, which are to our country's disadvantage. The slowdown can be overcome by changing the structure of Soviet exports and increasing the proportion of machines and equipment in them.

We are interested in the accelerated development of new forms of economic cooperation like the creation of joint ventures, but matters are not advancing as fast as we would like. Agreement on the creation of the "Tsentron" joint venture in the city of Kalinin was signed at the recent Leipzig Fair in the spring. It is the only such agreement so far, but the main point is that a good start has been made. People both in our country and here in the GDR believe that the new form of cooperation must be developed without waiting to solve all the problems associated with it.

Additional opportunities for cooperation are offered by the switch of a sizable proportion of Soviet defense industry enterprises to the manufacture of consumer goods.

A brief dispatch offers no chance to list all the foreign policy avenues along which our country is actively cooperating with the GDR. The main avenues and goals coincide. Berlin approved the Soviet leadership's decision on the unilateral reduction of armed forces and arms and on the withdrawal of some of the Soviet forces from European socialist countries, including the GDR. Our country welcomed with understanding the GDR's steps to cut back its army. The GDR unambiguously supported the results of M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to the FRG, perceiving it as an important contribution toward the strengthening of European peace.

Over the 40 years of the Republic's existence, our relations with the GDR have developed and gathered experience and maturity. German communists have learned a lot from us, but we have also taken much that was useful and rational from them. Much more lies ahead of us both. We remain loyal to the traditions of international solidarity between Lenin's party and Thaelmann's party. The invitation to Comrade E. Honecker to Magnitogorsk to attend the celebration of the city's 60th anniversary is symbolic in this context.

Shcherbitskiy Receives Croatian Delegation

LD1007192289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] A delegation of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia led by Runjic, chairman of the Assembly, arrived in Kiev today. The delegation was received at the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee by Comrade Shcherbitskiy. I have just returned from this meeting and, briefly speaking, comrade Shcherbitskiy described the dynamics of the processes of restructuring and the rejuvenation of public life and dwelled on the results of the first congress of people's deputies.

He drew attention to the preparations for the elections of people's deputies of the Ukraine and the local Soviets and to the resolving of problems related to implementation of the social and nationalities policy of the party. The possibilities for expanding bilateral contacts were also discussed. Today the delegation of the Croatian Assembly also visited the Paton Institutute of Electric Welding of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic, and at this moment a meeting is beginning at the Shevchenko Kiev State University.

Soviet-Romanian Anniversary Marked in Bucharest

LD1107224889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest, 11 July (TASS)—A meeting of the public of the Romanian capital dedicated to the 19th anniversary of the Soviet-Romanian Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance took place here today.

Those who spoke at the meeting stressed that the treaty signed in 1970 opened a new stage in Soviet-Romanian relations and created a reliable political and legal basis for the development of all-roiund cooperation between the two socialist countries. In the process of the implementation of the provisions of this document, relations between the Soviet Union and Romania have gained a deeper, multilateral character. Thus during the current 5-year plan consistent efforts are being made to increase the scale of cooperation between the two countries, and it is planned to increase the mutual supply of wares by 50 percent in comparison to the previous 5-year plan.

The USSR ambassador in the Romanian Socialist Republic was present at the meeting.

West Europe

Maslyukov Begins 5-Day Visit to West Germany

LD0807215189 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bonn July 9 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, arrived in Stuttgart for a visit on Saturday. He met there with Lothar Spaeth, minister-president of Baden-Wuerttemberg. They discussed questions connected with the development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and West Germany, specifically, the land of Baden-Wuerttemberg.

A programme of Maslyukov's five-day visit to West Germany includes meetings and talks with Helmut Haussmann, West German minister of economy, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, senior executives of the Federal Association of German Industry and of the leading West German Banks Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank.

Genscher Receives Maslyukov

PM1107103089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception in Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn, 10 Jul—Questions of the further development of USSR-FRG economic cooperation, first and foremost from the viewpoint of the practical implementation of agreements and accords reached during the visit to the FRG by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were discussed today in the course of a talk between FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher and Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, who is here.

The Soviet guest briefed the minister on the course of the economic transformations in the USSR and the formation of the new economic mechanism in the country. Here he devoted particular attention to certain specific projects in whose implementation West German firms could participate on a mutually beneficial basis. H.-D. Genscher stressed the FRG's interest in wide collaboration with the Soviet Union, which would promote the implementation of economic reforms and open up long-term prospects for the development of relations between the two countries.

The leader of the FRG's foreign policy department welcomed the results of the Bucharest conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, assessing them as a contribution to the conceptual rapprochement of the positions of East and West, including questions relating to disarmament and arms control. As H.-D. Genscher pointed out, much that is in the document adopted at the conference is consonant with what is contained in the joint statement signed in Bonn recently by the USSR and FRG leaders and with what was discussed during the Soviet-West German talks at the highest level.

Maslyukov, Haussman Discuss Ties

LD1107190489 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Bonn July 11 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee (gosplan), now on a visit to the Federal Reopublic of Germany, had a meeting with minister of economics Helmut Haussmann in Bonn. They had a substantive exchange of opinions, analysing possibilities of a further development of mutually-beneficial FRG-USSR economic relations in the light of the accords reached during Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to West Germany.

Special attention was paid to ways of cooperation in more profound processing and comprehensive use of raw material resources, organising joint production of sophisticated technology consumer goods, development of interaction in science-based production and also in manufacturing equipment for environmental protection.

The interlocutors discussed non-traditional forms of cooperation—co-production and joint ventures and also joint training of managerial personnel for the Soviet industry.

The sides agreed to cooperate in the development and modernisation of the Soviet engineering industry with the participation of West German firms. Concrete project realisation dates have been planned.

Maslyukov met in Cologne with Dr. Tyll Necker, president of the Federal Association of German Industry. The latter noted West German firms' growing desire for expansion of cooperation with the USSR, which was largely promoted by the recent Soviet-West German summit meeting.

Representatives of the West German business community received with profound interest the proposal to study the question of delivery to the Soviet Union of purification facilities for thermal electric power stations, including the [word indistinct] and Moscow northern thermal power stations.

Maslyukov visited the Siemens, Leybolt AG and Kloeckner-Meller firms, which are cooperatingh with the USSR.

A large group of Soviet economic experts, who arrived in West Germany, discussed with West German specialists the FRG'S experience of state regulation of the economic mechanism and the state's influence on foreign economic relations. Much attention was paid to the study of possibilities of further development of Soviet export to West Germany and improvement of its pattern.

Maslyukov Urges More Joint Ventures

LD1107115289 Hamburg DPA in German 0848 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA/VWD)—Just a month after the visit by the Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the Federal Republic, the economic contacts between the two countries are continuing in Bonn.

The Federal Economics Ministry announced on Tuesday that Minister Helmut Haussmann (FDP) [Free Deocratic Party] last night received the first deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Committee, Yuriy Maslyukov. They both called for the expansion of economic cooperation to Make the Soviet Union internationally more competitive and integrate it more strongly into the world economy.

According the the ministry, Maslyukov called for more joint ventures as one of the most important vehicles for cooperation. Energy and environmental protection projects should be linked in this. Regarding this German firms have good opportunities to introduce their advanced environmental technology in the Soviet Union and later to produce there. The two politicians thought it important to involve more consulting firms. The objective was to provide Western technology for Soviet industry and to modernize Soviet enterprises. Raising the efficiency of Soviet energy supplies to the Federal Republic could play an important role in this. The training of Soviet managers in the Federal Republic should be in addition to this.

Haussmann and Maslyukov spoke out in favor of setting up "islands of cooperation." These should impart a new impetus to German-Soviet economic relations and serve as examples for a higher quality of economic relations, which shquld increasingly include medium-size firms.

N. Rhine-Westphalia Targeted

LD1107220789 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Duesseldorf July 12 TASS—Russian sounds [are being heard] ever more often in this city, the administrative centre of North Rhine-Westphalia, the most populous land of the FRG, which vigorously participates in economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union. A representative Soviet delegation arrived here on Tuesday [11 July]. The delegation is led by Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

The visit of the Soviet delegation to Duesseldorf is explained by the fact that much importance is attached to North Rhine-Westphalia with its large economic and financial potential in the implementation of agreements reached during the recent visit to the FRG by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Negotiations with members of the land's government, as well as with leaders of concerns and firms specialising in metallurgy and automobile construction were held in the building of the office of North Rhine-Westphalia's minister-president. Both sides emphasized interest in the further widening of cooperation, specifically in the area of technological ensurance of measures for environmental protection in the Soviet Union.

On the same day, Maslyukov had a meeting with the managers of one of the FRG's biggest banks, Deutsche Bank.

In the afternoon the Soviet delegation visited an enterprise of Mannesmann concern with traditionally has mutually-advantageous contacts with partners in the USSR.

FRG Social Democrats Back Gorbachev Initiative

LD1107193689 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Bonn July 11 TASS—The new Soviet disarmament initiative, advanced by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in the course of his official visit to France, has been highly appraised by the leadership of the West German Social Democratic Party, says a statement adopted by the party presidium at its meeting here. The statement says among other things:

The Presidium of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany welcomes the new proposals, put forth by the Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, for depleting the short-range nuclear arsenals. In this way, the Soviet Union has expressed its willingness to downgrade the levels unilaterally if the West agrees to an early beginning of negotiations concerning these weapons.

The government of the Federal Republic of Germany, the statement notes, must now support the idea of the North Atlantic alliance's positive response to Gorbachev's initiative. By this means the disarmament process may acquire further acceleration and concreteness. He who would let the chance slip away faces a heavy responsibility, the statement says.

Reunification 'A Matter for the German People'

PM0407142189 London BBC Television Network in English 2030 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Interview with USSR Deputy Defense Minister General Valentin Varennikov by former UK MP Enoch Powell: "Embracing the Bear"; date, place not specified; from the "Byline" program]

[Text] [Powell] As I understand it, the great strength of Russia defensively is its depth. That depth is for Russia what the sea is for Britain—our major source of safety and defense. And that Russia has always therefore sought depth between itself and its potential enemies. How, then, in the new Europe of independent sovereign nations is Russia, without intervening by military force, going to secure itself upon its western flank?

[Varennikov, in Russian with subtitle translation] I would disagree with how you put the question. The main strength of Russia is the high degree of patriotism, the devotion to the task in hand of her people and armed services, and the unity of all the peoples of the USSR. And I consider that the main object of this strength, which directs, organizes, and leads our people, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

[Powell] Well, the reunification of Germany is a prospect which must have been engaging the attention of the Russian Government as it is certainly engaging the attention of the people of my country.

[Varennikov] West and East Germany are sovereign states. Of course, at one time there was a single Germany, but now they are completely different states, with different systems. As regards reunification, that is a matter for the German people, and how they decide their fate, the fate of the Germans, and the future of their states as they develop—that is their business. I personally consider that no other state is entitled to interfere in the solution of this problem.

Bundestag Debates 'Inviolability of Borders' Issue
PM0307152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jun 89 Second Edition p5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "Obstruction"]

[Text] Bonn, 23 Jun—Going into summer recess today, the Bundestag has hurriedly cleared its backlog this week. For example, at close of business it passed a law depriving people of German nationality from East European countries of the possibility to settle where they want on arrival in the FRG. Henceforth, they will be assigned a place of residence for a minimum of 2 years. This measure concerns the human rights problem to some extent. Evidently there was some discussion in parliament first. But what is surprising is that heated arguments flared up yesterday in the Bundestag over a perfectly clear issue: The inviolability of borders.

This is what happened. The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) faction proposed the adoption of a resolution which would confirm commitment to this fundamental principle of security and good-neighborliness on our continent. This expression of will by the West German parliament would have vital significance against the historical background of the approaching 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II by Hitler's Germany and also on a practical level—with regard to FRG relations with Poland and the GDR, the desirability of the improvement of which is mentioned here every day.

The text of the draft resolution contained reference to a joint statement by Federal Chancellor H. Kohl and E. Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. The statement was made in 1985 and said, in particular: "The inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states in Europe within their present borders is a fundamental condition of peace."

One could also add that the principle of inviolability of borders is enshrined in the Moscow Treaty, the Helsinki Final Act, and other international documents recognized by the FRG Government.

One would have thought that this was also an imperative for the parliamentarians of party factions making up the ruling coalition in the Bundestag. The discussion took a different direction, however. The Social Democrats' proposal was not to the liking of representatives of these factions. Christian Democratic Union (CDU) deputy H. Woerner became so heated in the debate that he even said that they would "have to proceed from the 1937 borders" when resolving the so-called German question.

One would have thought that for the overwhelming majority of FRG citizens the inviolability of the present borders in Europe is not a subject for debate. Judging by official documents and statements, this is also true of the government. But, in that case, the obstruction in the Bundestag to an unquestionable point of international law appears all the more strange. Unfortunately, the resolution did not get through....

Reaction to Silesian Group Discussion of Border
PM1207094189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev: "Dangerous Curves"]

[Text] Bonn, 5 Jul—It seems a long time now since federal ministers orated against the background of a giant silhouette of the former German Reich "within the 1937 borders." But that was precisely the provocative background to the annual gathering of the Silesian Exiles' Association, held in Hannover the other day.

The Silesian association is reputed as one of the most intransigent and belligerent. It has long been headed by Herbert Hupke, a native of Ceylon, who deserted the Social Democrats to join the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and who has made a profession of revanchism. His provocative speeches and indefatigable demands on Poland, repeated in Hannover, were no surprise to anyone. But do the "manifestations" of official Bonn representatives in Hannover correspond to the spirit of the times and the high sense of responsibility required to strengthen the new atmosphere in Europe?

Dorothee Wilms, federal minister for inner-German affairs, said that "Germany continues to exist within the 1937 borders." Minister of Finance Theo Waigel, who is chairman of the Christian Social Union [CSU], stated that the "German question" includes the solution of the

problem of the "German eastern regions" on the other side of the Oder and the Neisse. Here reunification, in his opinion, does not depend "on our neighbors' agreement."

That is no doubt enough, although there were far more speeches in similar vein. Even the commentators on certain conservative West German publications are becoming disconcerted. "Such blunt statements have not come out of Bonn and Munich for a long time," DIE WELT's Hannover correspondent observes. Many commentators attribute this propaganda gambit to competition from the right-wing radical Republican Party. It is known that it has recently wrested quite a few voters away from the CDU-CSU—around 15 percent in Bavaria, for example. It seems that some people in the CDU-CSU are determined not to hang back but to overtake the Republicans on the tight curves.

But times have changed. First, the champions of these views are hardly capable of outdoing in propaganda the hierarchy of the Republicans, whose leader Franz Schoenhuber has been openly called a neo-Nazi by Free Democrats leader Otto Lambsdorff. Second, the right-wing radical party's strategists are placing the emphasis the domestic political problems that are causing marked discontent in the country, so that the ruling parties' situation is not going to be remedied, it seems to me, by speeches "in the Hannover spirit."

Can any domestic political reasons really justify statements completely at variance with the principle of recognizing the indissolubility of existing borders and the territorial integrity of the states enshrined in international treaties and other well-known documents signed by the Federal Republic? And what can one say about its claims on Poland—not just territorial but others too, redolent of interference in its internal affairs and made, what is more, in the year of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II!

The Hannover gathering does not, it is true, reflect the dominant attitudes in the FRG. But it is nevertheless bound to raise disturbing questions both in the FRG itself and abroad—in both East and West.

In any event FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher felt it necessary in an interview on the DEUTSCHLANDFUNK radio station to warn against attempts to reverse the wheel of history. He referred to the maintenance of existing borders as among the prerequisites for peace in Europe.

Bovin Article Elaborates USSR's Europe Policy

PM1107170389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bovin article under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Europe and the Europeans"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's appearance in London, Bonn, and Paris prompted heightened interest in the Soviet Union's European policy.

At, so to speak, the nonprofessional level—the level of the public—positive assessments clearly predominate. Sticklers for accuracy will not omit to observe that these assessments apply, as a rule, to the Soviet leader, and not to Soviet policy. That is true. In all the polls, sympathies for Gorbachev markedly "outstrip" sympathies for the USSR (there you have it—the human factor!). But politics is inevitably personalized, and those who applaud Gorbachev are also applauding Moscow's policy.

At the professional level the picture is more complicated. In general, the change arising from restructuring in the Soviet Union's foreign (and European) policy is greeted without rapture, but with understanding. At the same time notes of skepticism can be clearly heard.

Skeptical ideologists (they are few in number, but make the most noise) emphasize that Moscow is by no means renouncing communism and socialism ("more socialism," they quote). So it is not the aims that are changing, not the orientation of foreign policy, but only its methods. So whatever mask the "Russians" may don, they remain enemies. With all the ensuing consequences for Western Europe.

Skeptical pragmatists (they predominate among the political elite) draw attention not to statements of an ideological, doctrinal nature, but to the reality, the tangible nature of changes in policy. They welcome these changes, but call into question the extent to which they are irreversible. "Wishing Mr Gorbachev success," F. Mitterrand stated, "is entirely natural, because this activity of his has found expression in the disarmament sphere and in, say, the elimination of the military aspects of the Soviet Union's policy in many parts of the world. At the same time," the president went on, "we should not be in too much of a hurry. We should wait for this evolution to be confirmed. We should not hamper it; but nor should we—at the present stage—weaken our security potential."

The tragic events in China strengthened the position of the pragmatic variety of skeptics. You see, they say, how easy it is to put the brakes on. Zhao Ziyang came—Zhao Ziyang went. Today Gorbachev, and tomorrow?... So let us have less enthusiasm, less credit, less haste on disarmament questions. "In Moscow," J. Chirac, mayor of Paris, warns, "very powerful forces are only waiting for their moment to bring about a return to the most classical totalitarianism."

That is the general psychopolitical background against which the Europe of governments, the Europe of military-political strategists, greeted M.S. Gorbachev. There is nothing surprising about it. What we always called a myth—the Soviet threat—was no myth to the West. Neither Hungary in'56, nor Czechoslovakia in'68 was a myth. The Warsaw Pact's considerable superiority in offensive potential was not a myth. And the SS-20 missiles that changed the nuclear balance in Europe were not a myth.

I do not think any Soviet political leader or Soviet military chief intended to "occupy" Western Europe. I do not think plans for the "Finlandization" of Europe were seriously considered. But the use of the strength factor and the threat of force undoubtedly came within the rules of the game. Especially since the threat from the West, the Atlanticist threat—a 100-percent myth from the official Western viewpoint—were seen differently in the Soviet Union. It was hard to regard as myths the formation of NATO and other military-political blocs of an anti-Soviet nature, the creation of dozens of military bases around the perimeter of the "communist world," and the constant spurring on of the arms race.

One can argue about myths, intentions, motives. But the transformation of Europe into the region most densely packed with troops and arms is indisputable. The ossification of a powerful stratum of enmity, distrust, and suspicion is indisputable. And although at times the "cold war" grew less cold and yielded to the pressure of detente (the mid-seventies), common sense did not stand its ground for long.

The changes that began in Moscow in the second half of the eighties altered the situation drastically. The Soviet leadership acted in the most "simple" and cogent way: It adopted the West's proposals on a number of fundamental questions (verification, the SS-20's, the elimination of asymmetries in conventional arms, human rights). And this was not a collection of separate, unconnected decisions. They all fitted into a conceptual outline that was initiated by the new political thinking and developed, adjusted, and supplemented by foreign policy practice.

The European policy, which has its roots in the Helsinki accords, was designated by a political metaphor—the building of the "common European home." It is envisaged that the dwellers in this home will be able to put their common interests above private and group interests and will part with a significant proportion of their weapons. The principles of disarmament: Reasonable (defensive) sufficiency and mutual security. Fewer weapons, but more cooperation and exchange of material and spiritual assets, people, and ideas. In the long term, the restoration of Europe's unity and integrity—not as a single act, but as a sociopolitical process taking place over a period of time.

We do not see European affairs in isolation, we see them as a part, a fragment of the movement of history, which is at a turning point and demonstrates increasingly clearly the new laws and criteria in social progress. The weight of common human interests is growing. This requires tolerance of a different way of life and a different way of thinking. It raises the question of the need to seek consensus for the sake of survival. And it is Europe's level of development, of civilization, that allows it to be the pioneer on this path.

That is our general approach. As M.S. Gorbachev's visits and day-to-day diplomatic activity show, we are prepared to discuss without prejudice all aspects of the "common European home." But the trouble is that our Western partners, while they do not object to individual components, details, and parts of the common European construction project, have not yet formulated their own general approach to Europe's future. The so-called "European idea" does not go beyond the bounds of "lesser Europe." This idea is oriented toward the consolidation of Western Europe, capitalist Europe, and its integration in the economic, political, and military (the Western European Union) respects. As for greater Europe, Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, here Western political thinking has not gone beyond vague ideas about overcoming the division of Europe, which often conceals the hope of "overcoming" socialism in Europe. So we arrive at a Europe "from Brest to Brest"....

But let us transfer the common European discussion to a more concrete sphere. Let us follow in Gorbachev's footsteps.

London. They continue to believe there in a "special relationship" between London and Washington, that is, they think that Britain is closer to the United States than to Europe. A classic case, incidentally, of relativity in politics. Because if you look from Washington's point of view the United States is situated much closer to Japan or the FRG than to Britain. Be that as it may, the political "Eurocurrency" is not very highly valued in London. And there is enough trouble with "lesser Europe," not to mention a greater Europe.... THE TIMES is not advising the government to approve the "common European home" concept either.

Summing up a decade of "Thatcherism," the British Sunday paper THE OBSERVER wrote: By reacting sharply to the European countries' interests and demonstrating adherence to the old concepts of nuclear deterrence, the prime minister "is looking less and less like the envoy of the new world order and more and more like a relic of the old era of rabid nationalism and confrontation, a person who can no longer respond to the challenge of the new world situation and new interests." The smiles and warm words about changes in the Soviet Union and about perestroyka are entirely at home with London's, to put it mildly, cool attitude toward the activation of the USSR's European policy and the idea of a "common European home," which presupposes ultimately European disarmament and the elimination of the military-political blocs which divide it.

Bonn. Here the attitude toward the "common European home" is much less platonic than on the other side of the Channel. The explosion of affection for Gorbachev can be explained not only in terms of social mentality, but also in political terms. It is no accident that the tactical nuclear weapons and short-range nuclear missiles in the FRG are called "German-range missiles." The thesis

that nuclear weapons are intended solely for "deterrence" is no consolation. If the "German-range" missiles exist there also exists a more than zero likelihood of their being launched. This type of FRG "defense"—and it is envisaged by NATO plans—is equivalent to its destruction. The replacement of the European theater of hostilities by the "common European home," whose stability presupposes ridding Europe of nuclear weapons and effecting a substantial, marked reduction of conventional armaments, provides a guarantee of survival.

There is another facet to the problem. The division of Europe is most tangible on German soil. Indeed the border between the two European homes, including the Berlin Wall, runs through this land. To official Bonn the elimination of the division of Europe is inevitably associated with the reunification of Germany, a reunification ruling out any strongarm methods, of course. When this process will take place and in what form and whether it will take place at all no one can say at the moment. But one thing is clear: Only the gradual formation of an integral European space, a space of economic and political cooperation, a space of free interplay of ideas and interaction between people can create conditions for a new stage of European history. And Moscow cannot be bypassed on this path....

Paris. The foundations of France's current foreign policy were laid by De Gaulle. The task was to preserve France as a great power. To that end it needs at least to have its own independent nuclear missile potential; to arrange stable relations with the FRG (military included) and secure the leading position in "lesser Europe"; and to have as good relations as possible with the USSR, which widens the scope for foreign policy maneuvers and increases the number of degrees of freedom in the world arena. It takes a pretty high degree of diplomatic art to harmonize these three areas and smooth out the contradictions between them. And when this is lacking, French foreign policy starts to hiccup and limp on one of these three legs.

Back at the start of the sixties De Gaulle reminded his Western colleagues that Europe stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals. I will not analyze the general's motives when he made this major postwar geopolitical discovery. The admission of this fact and the discovery of a common denominator for the West and East of the continent helped to pave the way for Helsinki and made it possible to forge ahead to Stockholm amd Vienna. The new step is the "common European home" concept, which is the fulcrum of the USSR's European policy and has the backing of its allies. In principle this concept and Moscow's overall view of the evolution of international relations is accepted by Paris. This has made it possible to strengthen the stability of the Helsinki process and raise the entire dialogue to a high level. Differences remain on some elements of the plan. But it will not be Mitterrand's and Gorbachev's last meeting....

In the other European capitals—allied, neutral, and nonaligned—we would undoubtedly find other facets of the common European theme and new variations of approach to the Soviet plan, and to everything else that is happening here. Our policy, in setting its priorities and areas of heightened attention, obviously takes these facets and variations into account. At the same time, we are open to any new idea. We are prepared to discuss any proposal that does not coincide with ours—if only to move things forward, if only to finally get out of the mire of distrust and suspicion onto the firm ground of cooperation. This is what M S. Gorbachev was seeking to do in London, Bonn, and Paris.

European, Soviet Banks Agree To Joint Venture

AU0407141189 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 4 Jul 89 p 8

["vwd" report: "Joint European-Soviet Bank"]

[Text] New York—Five West European banks have agreed with Moscow credit institutes to establish a joint venture. The international Moscow bank is to be supplied with initial capital of R100 million. Participants from the West are the Bayerische Vereinsbank, Creditanstalt-Bankverein, Banca Commerciale Italiana, Credit Lyonnais, and Kansallis-Osake-Pankky with a share of 12 percent each. The other 40 percent of the capital is held jointly by the Soviet Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, the Industrial Construction Bank, and the Bank for Labor Savings and Credit to the Population.

Increased Soviet-French Trade Prospects Viewed

LD1107101889 Moscow International Service in French 1700 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] The advancement of bilateral economic relations is one of the important results of the Soviet-French summit in Paris. It enabled trade to emerge from a long stagnation and a qualitative renewal of cooperation mechanisms to begin, our observer Vsevolod Mikhaylov writes. The emphasis will be on direct protagonists, businesses, companies, including small and medium size companies, research centres, and regions. The agenda includes industrial collaboration, the setting up of joint enterprises, and cooperation on third country markets. This emerges from an unprecedented package of concrete agreements of bilateral importance signed in Paris, which concerns primarily the economic sphere. The agreements must stimulate our countries' interaction in the priority areas of scientific and technical progress, aeronautics, robotics, electronics, information technology, high-definition television, biotechnology, and high-speed rail transportation.

The documents are of a fundamentally new nature. For the first time in European practice two consortia have brought together French companies and banks with a view to trade with the USSR. They will operate on a

compensation basis and will get around a delicate problem for us, that of the nonconvertibility of the ruble. On the French side it is thought that the consortia will contribute to setting up in the USSR around 60 joint enterprises. For example, the Thomson company intends to set up a French-Soviet enterprise manufacturing 600,000 color television sets annually. Another joint enterprise will be opened by the Seribo Company. El-Aquitaine has obtained mineral prospecting rights in the Caspian Sea. Under the signed agreements, French businessmen can build in the USSR alongside Soviet enterprises, metal-works, hotels, airports, and hospitals. Vast new prospects are open for cooperation in the agro-industrial sphere. According to the French press the implementation of the agreements will bring tens of billions of francs to French companies.

Good bases have been laid for Paris and Moscow to become really major partners and for their turnover to be at a level appropriate to economic great powers. Certainly we are far from perfection. There remains a great deal to do together for the agreements to become reality, but one cannot fail to be surprised by a certain reserve shown by a sector of French business circles, who fear, according to the QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS that the good intentions of the policy of perestroyka may be drowned by a conservative tidal wave. Skepticism is certainly no bad thing, but it may be that the over-skeptical French businessmen will miss the train. While they think it over and weigh the pros and cons the more prompt and energetic businessmen of Italy, the FRG, and other countries are already taking substantial profits from cooperation with the USSR.

It is obviously risky to undertake economic cooperation with the USSR at a time when the reform started up by restructuring destroys outdated mechanisms faster than it starts up new ones. But it is a justified risk all the more so in that the Soviet-French summit was the occasion for signing an agreement on mutual promotion and mutual protection of investments. The Soviet Union and France commit themselves to respect international arbitration procedures in the event of a dispute involving joint companies. It is true that there are still numerous difficulties in economic cooperation between our countries, but the prospects of mutual advantage are still greater thanks to the upsurge that this cooperation received during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to France.

Spanish Economic Delegation Begins Visit

LD1007175589 Madrid in Spanish to Europe 1130 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Claudio Aranzadi, the Spanish minister of industry and energy, today began an official visit to the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening trading links between the two countries.

Aranzadi arrived in Moscow last night accompanied by the secretary general for trade of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, Fernando Gomez Avilez, and the director general of international economic relations of the Foreign Ministry, Carlos Blasco. Also travelling with him are officials from his own ministry and from the Ministry of Economy and Finance, as well as over 100 Spanish businessmen. Aranzadi is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the coal industry minister, Mikhail Shchadov, and he will have talks with about 10 ministers in the economic area during the three days he will be staying in Moscow.

Katushev Receives Industry Minister

LD1007213289 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister for foreign economic relations, received today Jose Claudio Aranzadi Martinez, Spanish minister of industry and energy, who is now on an official visit to the USSR. Spain's ambassador to the USSR Jose Cuenca attended the meeting. The sides discussed economic relations between the two countries. They noted the existence of possibilities for a broader mutually advantageous cooperation and for improving the forms of this cooperation, including through the setting up of joint ventures.

Italian Firm Finances Soviet PC Training

PM1107103589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Antonov report: "Professionalism in International Business"]

[Excerpts] What is, in the opinion of many specialists, an unusual event in the international business world has taken place at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Moscow Higher Commercial School, where Soviet business cadres have been in training for 8 months now.

The Italian firm AZEM [name as transliterated], which produces electronics and has been competing successfully in the last few years with the well-known firms Olivetti and IBM, has equipped the computer classes at this special educational establishment. The apparatus installed costs around $200,000. But this is probably nothing unusual today—computerization is becoming a more and more active part of our economy. Were it not for the fact that the Soviet educational establishment has not had to pay a cent or a ruble for the personal computers from Italy. [passage omitted]

"This fact is undoubtedly pleasant for us. But I would note that patronage is a very rare occurrence in business. The Italians have an aim in this 'deal,'" Ante Belic, the firm's commercial director, revealed its secret. "After all, the students at the Soviet business school will become leaders of enterprises, production organizers, and specialists in foreign economic issues. That is, the people on

whom the concrete decisions made in the sphere of foreign trade ties depend today and, above all, will depend in the future." [passage omitted]

USSR Said To Protest Vasiliou W. Berlin Visit

NC0907102189 Nicosia CYPRUS MAIL in English 9 Jul 89 p 1

[Excerpt] The Soviet Embassy in Nicosia has protested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic over President Yeoryios Vasiliou's visit to West Berlin last week, well-informed sources told the CYPRUS MAIL.

But the press attache at the Soviet Embassy Vladimir A. Chizhov would not comment beyond saying he could "neither confirm nor deny the information." A political commentator has suggested that this is an indirect confirmation of the information.

The Soviet protest apparently followed the announcement that during President Vasiliou's four-day official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, at the invitation of German President Richard von Weizsacker, Vasiliou would also visit West Berlin. [passage omitted]

Turkish Finance Minister Concludes Visit to USSR

Border Trade Agreement Signed

TA0707163789 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 2000 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Turkey and the Soviet Union signed a border trade agreement in Moscow today. Finance and Customs Minister Ekrem Pakdemirli and Konstantin Katushev, foreign economic relations minister, signed the agreement for Turkey and the Soviet Union respectively.

The agreement envisions the holding of meetings in Baku, Yerevan, Tbilisi, and Rize between delegations of the two countries next month in a bid to determine the kind and amount of goods to be traded. An ANATOLIA report indicates that the agreement also foresees the barter of light and heavy industry goods between the two countries.

Minister Returns to Istanbul

TA0707165089 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1600 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Finance and Customs Minister Ekrem Pakdemirli has concluded his official visit to the Soviet Union and has returned to Turkey. In a statement at Istanbul Ataturk Airport, Pakdemirli said his visit had been positive. He added that the businessmen who accompanied him on this visit signed agreements on the construction of factories and the export of various products. He noted that various difficulties concerning investment loans will be solved at the next Turkish-Soviet joint economic committee meetings. He said that [word indistinct] were exchanged in connection with the solution of problems involving natural gas purchases and the purchase of additional gas.

Noting that he conveyed to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, a verbal message from Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, Pakdemirli added that he brought a message from Ryzhkov to Ozal.

Political & Social

2 Killed in Stepanakert Interethnic Strife

LD1107171189 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Stepanakert July 11 TASS—Tension in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region became more acute again. Interethnic strife intensifies. Clashes of large groups of population with the use of fire arms and blank weapons, self-made explosive devices and bottles with incendiary mixture became frequent.

Because of a conflict between Azerbaijan shepherds and Armenians, rumours are being spread among both groups of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh and near-by villages. They caused a painful reaction and the striving for revenge. Attempts to block traffic on roads in the region were taken yesterday more than once.

Three Azerbaijanis were attacked from an ambush with the use of fire arms this afternoon on the outskirts of Stepanakert, near Kirkidzhan settlement. Two of them were killed and the third one was gravely wounded. A group of investigators from the USSR procurator's office left for the place of the ambush.

The escalation of tension shows that extremists among the conflicting sides are determined to continue to aggravate the situation without thinking about the consequences. Meanwhile the sober-minded majority of the population declares for a peaceful, constitutional solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Units of interior forces and militia reserves have been alerted in the region. Roads are patrolled by motorised units. Helicopters flying over the region coordinate actions of law enforcement forces.

The special administration committee, law-enforcement bodies are doing their utmost to prevent new clashes on an interethnic basis and loss of life.

Baku Radio Reports on NKAO Situation

NC1207073589 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 0353 GMT 12 Jul 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers have published a report by a newspaper correspondent about the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan. The report says that those who steered the special administration committee toward (?realism) have done everything possible in attempting to prevent all sorts of [word indistinct] on interethnic grounds and human casualties.

Lukyanov Chairs 12 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

LD1207073989 Moscow TASS in English 0653 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

It is for the third week that members of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been considering candidates for the Soviet cabinet. Today's morning sitting chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, continued considering nominees for the posts of chairmen of state committees. Along with ministers, they form the USSR Council of Ministers.

According to preliminary data, deputies will consider today candidates for the chairmanship of the committees for hydrometeorology, (?construction), labour and social matters and for statistics.

More Reportage on 11 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

Communications, Trade Debated

LD1107185989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Excerpts] This is the radio diary at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. At the microphone is our correspondent Lyudmila Semina:

[Semina] [Passage omitted] The Ministry of Communications will henceforth be working in a different capacity. Product manufacturers, the former Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry—as well as consumers—all of us with telephones, television sets, radio sets, postal services, etc are now under the roof of one Ministry of Communications. The minister of the industry, Erlen Kirikovich Pervyshin, who has been confirmed in this position, told deputies of the industry's priority concerns. Deputy Sharipov of Bashkiria is on the platform. You will remember how at the congress he made a fiery speech in defense of communications, spoke of its role and the need to put order into this business. Listen to Sharipov:

[Begin Sharipov recording] There are really masses of complaints from the population about the sluggishness of postal communications and the extremely low number of telephones available. The quality of available telephone communications in both urban and outlying areas leaves something to be desired. Deputies can see this for themselves. Undoubtedly, without radical technical reequipment of the industry the task cannot be carried out. It is necessary to coordinate the efforts of numerous designers, industrial enterprises, and operators. Therefore, I support the government's and USSR Supreme Soviet's decision to unite the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry into a single sector. Only unification into one structure of the whole cycle from design to operation

of the communications systems will make it possible to achieve the goal with less resources, and, moreover, the real levers of management will be more effective, as Comrade Pervyshin said today.

There are five proposals. First: so long as there is no socialist market and wholesale trade in the means of production, there is no way of avoiding problems of material and equipment supplies to enterprises.

Second: to extend to the new ministry what I consider the rather successful experience of the creation by your old ministry of a joint-stock fund of economic development of the sector.

Third: to use conversion, as you mentioned, in the sector, for laying on more telephones in the country, yielding results in the course of the term of our powers.

Fourth: to increase the volume of foreign trade cooperation; we lag behind here.

And last: to create in the ministry a number of major concerns on a joint stock basis so as to ensure the ministry's transition entirely to an economic method of management. [end recording]

[Semina] Today the session was chaired by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov. He read out one of the telegrams.

[Begin recording] [Lukyanov] Deputy Ostroukhov asks: A Supreme Soviet decision should be adopted on acknowledging the communications problem in our country as a national problem and the Council of Ministers should be instructed at the next session to draft proposals, examine them at the session, and consolidate this program legislatively.

I think this proposal is a serious one. Indeed, a program of radical improvement of communications is necessary, but the ministry should, taking into account our exchange of opinion, come to an agreement and submit these proposals to the government. [end recording]

[Semina] The discussion of the next candidature to the post of minister of trade—Kondrat Zigmundovich Terekh has been confirmed in this post—was extended by deputies for the entire hour of debate. [passage omitted] Speaking in the debates, Deputy Andreyeva considered the ministry program inusufficient. Listen.

[Begin Andreyeva recording] [Passage omitted on "first" point: the principle "you can't sell what you haven't got" is not acceptable] Second: trade today is a criminogenic zone. To tell the truth, yesterday I was expecting Comrade Bakatin to talk about what liaison should be organized between the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the very nearest future in order to overcome this state of affairs. For it is a secret to no one that all the threads of any of the uncovered corrupt groups lead to trade. Where does the money come from? Where does the money circulate? In trade alone. And the poor salesman and the poor young specialist are being drawn into this morass. Comrade Terekh complains to us of the shifting and huge staff turnover rate and so on. We will not mention how many people in the course of a year in trade are deprived of the right to trade by a court verdict, but we will add that the honest people are getting out and the dishonest are wallowing and just helping what is happening.

Third: I am not accusing the minister but I think he should propose something quite new. We expect a new program from him. We expect something according to the proposal for a transition to wholesale trade, on lease, strengthening of the potential of responsibility of the local soviets. The Soviets in my view will have to engage in the near future in the organization of trade on the spot, through decentralization and the establishment of social justice in distribution. That is, as we know, the main question of socialism and restructuring today. It is on this sector that the social tension in the country now depends to a huge degree. It is through trade that the line runs which divides us into those who are satisfied and those who are not satisfied with life, the country, and restructuring. Not a word was said about priority, and priority today in trade must be quite clear: increasing supplies for the countryside and for encouraging food production, including priority deliveries of cars and other high-priced goods. I consider that to be trade and the minister of trade should be a man who would set out for us a revolutionary program. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Semina] The deputies adopt the decision, together with the Supreme Soviet commission, to envisage a broad program to take the sector out of deadlock and to ask the government to give the Ministry of Trade maximum aid. Then Yuriy Kuzmich Semenov was presented for the position of minister of power and electrification of the country. [passage omitted] One of the main problems of the past few years is that the plan for commissioning new capacities is not being fulfilled, although it is envisaged to double the country's power potential in the next 15 years. On the platform is Yuriy Kuzmich Semenov.

[Begin Semenov recording] How can this problem be solved? With the existing rates and volumes of power construction this problem cannot be solved. New approaches are required. The electricity generating capacity must grow ever more quickly, capital expenditure must be reduced to the minimum. It is necessary to base oneself on the resources of fuel and the ecological problem. To date the main task for supplying electricity to the national economy is the necessary establishment of a rational, all-pleasing relationship between atomic, hydraulic, and thermal stations. You and I must do this in the power program which will be submitted for nationwide discussion in order that having ratified and adopted this law, adopted the power program, we power engineers may fulfill it unconditionally.

What is being proposed? The program for construction of hydraulic stations must envisage basically abandoning the construction of big new hydroelectric stations on plains rivers, maximum use of mountain rivers and cascades, minimum flooding of land areas, and strict observance of ecological requirements. It is necessary to radically re-elaborate the program for construction of atomic power stations, remove the priority in development of atomic power from quantitative growth to improvement of quality indices and, above all, maximally raise the safety of atomic stations. At the same time the share of thermal power stations in the overall generation of electricity by the year 2000 will be maintained at the level of 70 percent. In order to fulfill and ensure this, it is necessary to continue the development of power engineering through the construction of major condensation stations burning solid fuel and natural gas in the Kansk-Achinsk, Ekibastuz, and West Siberian fuel and power complexes, where there is coal and cheap fuel resources. The basis of scientific-technical progress in the industry must comprise major structural advances in the development of power engineering through the construction, at thermal power stations, of big high economy power sets of 180-250 MW and, at condensation stations, of 500-800.

A determining factor of the further development of power engineering is the question of environmental protection. A strategic field in this sphere of thermal power is the design and development of ecologically clean thermal power stations. Special attention needs to be given to ecological priorities of nonconventional sources of power, which in our country is in the experimental form and in the state of transition to industrial use. These sources include solar power—the first such station has been built in the Crimea—, geo-thermal power, wind, biomass, etc.

Today we have come to a frontier beyond which ensuring the needs of the national economy for fuel and power on the former extensive basis is not only intolerable but also not feasible for our economy. The question is ripe about the adoption of a power law, envisaging norms and levels of use of electrical and thermal power by domestic tools and equipment, standard technological processes in metallurgy, chemistry, building materials, mechanical engineering, requirements for thermal insulation of housing and production buildings, ecological requirements for power installations, for power fuel, so that everyone might take part in this question. [end recording]

[Semina] I think it was the detailed discussion of the problems being examined by the industry, constructive dialogue with future ministers—these circumstances made it possible to confirm the candidates who were examined today at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in the positions of ministers. At 1600 [1200 GMT] this work continues.

Terekh Confirmed Trade Minister

LD1107115489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] A Supreme Soviet session is taking place today in the Kremlin. Formation of the Soviet Government is continuing at a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. After comprehensive discussion the deputies confirmed Comrade Pervyshin as USSR minister of communications and Comrade Terekh as USSR minister of trade.

The session is now discussing the candidate for the post of USSR minister of power and electrification, Comrade Semenov.

Semenov Appointed Electricity Minister

LD1107133589 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet, which has been considering the composition of the Soviet government for two weeks now, endorsed another three ministerial nominations during its morning sitting on Tuesday.

Erlen Pervyshin, 57, who previously headed the Ministry of the Industry of the Means of Communications, has been appointed minister of communications (the two ministries have been merged). He had to hear a lot of criticism: Members of the Supreme Soviet spoke of the low level of telephone services in the country, [passage indistinct] television channel can be received, and of inadequacies in postal operations.

It should be noted that responsibility for some of these problems is borne not so much by Pervyshin as by the former minister of communications. This is the way the deputies evaluated the situation: Despite the criticisms, the nomination was endorsed.

The discussion on the candidacy of Kondrat Terekh, 54, an economist, was even more lively than the previous one. He had been again nominated for the post of minister of trade.

Discontent over queues, the growing scarcity of goods, and extortion practices in trade—all were vented during the debate.

But there were also other opinions: Trade only reflects the complex economic situation in the country. The intensity of passions was not dampened by a brief recess after which the discussion was resumed.

However, the proven understanding of the problems of the sector by the candidate and his straight answers to numerous questions convinced the deputies of the rightness of the choice made by the prime minister. By a majority of votes the parliament endorsed the nomination of Kondrat Terekh for the post of minister of trade.

Yuriy Semenov, 57, a candiate for the post of minister of power development and electrification, mentioned the need for a revision of the country's energy problem.

He pointed out in his remarks that the necessity of such a step is connected first of all with the task of doubling the country's power potential within the next 15 years.

The candidate, who worked as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Sector, called for determining an optimum correlation between nuclear, hydro and thermal power stations.

In answer to a question about the supply of Soviet electricty abroad, the candidate said that the Soviet Union now exports about 40,000 million kilowatt-hours of power a year, and that the country is expected to generate 1,790,000 milion kilowatt-hours of electricity in 1989.

In line with the country's international commitments, the export of electric power is expected to grow approximately up to 54,000 million kilowatt-hours by the year 2000.

During the discussion of the nomination, many deputies drew the candidate's attention to gross violations of ecological norms by the previous leadership of the ministry during the construction of power stations in practically all regions of the country.

By a majority of votes Yuriy Semenov was appointed USSR minister of power development and electrification.

In the afternoon the Soviet parliament will consider the last ministerial nomination on the list: Doctor of Law Venyamin Yakovlev, 57, was nominated for the post of minister of justice.

V. Yakovlev Confirmed Justice Minister

LD1107153489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jul (TASS)—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin.

At today's evening session the USSR Supreme Soviet confirmed Veniamin Yakovlev, a major legal expert and director of the All-Union Research Institute for Soviet State Building and Legal Affairs in the post of Minister of Justice.

Yakovlev, a 57-year old doctor of juridical sciences, has no experience of apparatus work. The majority of delegates saw this as an asset: He is a person unencumbered by the burden of the former approaches when instruction from above on occasion was substituted for the law. The ministerial candidate spoke of the imperfection of many of the laws now in force which, he said, had not been written in juridical language but in the language of newspaper leaders. He stressed the need to get rid of a multitude of departmental instructions which regulate many spheres of public life.

He was the final candidate in the list for ministerial posts. The parliament immediately passed on to an examination of the candidates for the posts of chairmen of state committees.

The first to be confirmed was 50-year old Valeriy Sychev who was head of the Committee for the Administration of Product Quality and Standards. He previously worked as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Military-Industrial Issues. The new leader sees his main task as protecting the interests of the state and the consumer in three sectors: security of production, resource saving, and ecology.

Boris Tolstykh has become chairman of the Committee for Computer and Information Technology. Since 1987 the 53-year old doctor of Technical Sciences has occupied the post of deputy premier and of head of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. Having admitted that the gap in the sphere of information technology with other developed countries is now becoming critical, he stressed the importance of a more rapid completion of working out a program to provide information technology for Soviet society in the period up to the year 2005.

The discussion which had begun the candidature of Yuriy Izrael, who is once more being recommended for the post of chairman of the Committee on Hydrometeorology, in view of the expiry of time for the day sesion, has been held over to tomorrow.

Ministers Confirmation Hearings End

LD1107141889 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—by TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Supreme Soviet, which has been holding government confirmation hearings since the end of last month, today completed an important part of the job by exhausting the list of candidates for deputy premier and ministerial positions.

The deputies have discussed over 40 nominees who had previously passed through the filter of parliamentary committees and commissions.

In addition to candidates withdrawn by the prime minister or rejected during preliminary hearings, the Supreme Soviet turned down another three, all of them incumbents.

They included Deputy Premier and head of the Council of Ministers' Foreign Economic Commission Vladimir Kamentsev, Railways Minister Nikolay Konarev and Lumber Industry Minister Mikhail Busygin.

The posts of a first deputy prime minister, a deputy prime minister and six ministers (culture, water management, the oil and gas industries, machine-tool building, railways, and the lumber industry) remain vacant.

The parliament is now to scrutinise 13 candidates for the chairmanships of state committees, who make the government together with the ministers.

The committees include, among others, those on public education, the press, radio and television broadcasting, and state security.

Ryzhkov Speaks to Assembly

LD1107123289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Jul 89

[From the recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin on 11 July, chaired by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov; speech by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov presenting the USSR Ministers Council draft resolution on discharge form active military service of certain categories of conscripts; speech by Deputy Oleynik on rehabilitation of Brezhnev-Suslov trials' victims]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Lukyanov] Before we resume the work of composing the government I would like to tell you—and you evidently know about it—that a number of deputies, the committee for women's affairs, the committee for youth affairs, a group of deputies, have repeatedly posed here at the session the question of releasing from service in the Army those students who were called up in 1988 and 1987. We handed these instructions specially to the ministry. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also gave such an instruction to the government. Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov is to speak on this:

[Ryzhkov] Esteemed comrades, the USSR Ministers Council submits for your examination the draft resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on discharge from active military service of certain categories of servicemen in conscription service. The draft resolution envisages the discharge in August-September 1989 from active military service to continue their education, of servicemen on conscription service who are students of day, internal, or higher educational establishments, for border, internal, and railway troops who were called up into the USSR Armed Forces in 1986-1988.

According to the data from the USSR Defense Ministry 175,000,700,000 [as heard] students of higher educational establishments are undergoing their service in the USSR Armed Forces, in border, internal, and railway troops. By discharging them from the military service ahead of schedule, the strength of combat troops in terms of sergeants and soldiers will be reduced by 4.8 percent. It is intended to partially compensate for this understrength through temporary reduction by 30 percent of annual apportionment of the intake of young people in order to make up the strength of military-construction detachments of all ministries, with the exception of the detachments working on the reconstruction and building of highways in non-chernozem zones of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. A corresponding government decision will be adopted on the question—that is on the under-strength—by the Ministers Council after the decision of the Supreme Soviet has been endorsed.

I shall not read the draft of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Anatoliy Ivanovich will, apparently, read it for you. I have (?fulfilled my duty). [Applause]

[Lukyanov] Thank you, I will ask now....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] That's one good thing we have done.

[Lukyanov] Comrades, are there questions for Nikolay Ivanovich?

[Voices] No.

[Lukyanov] No questions. Then I... Is there a question? Nikolay Ivanovich, there is a question. Please.

[Boykov] Deputy Boykov from Yakutia. Nikolay Ivanovich, and why [not] the Navy? The term of service is 3 years long there, and they have already served 2 years.

[Ryzhkov] The Navy is part of the USSR Armed Forces.

[Boykov] But you said railway troops and so on.

[Ryzhkov] I named first the USSR Armed Forces, then—comma—border, railway troops, and so on. The Navy is part of the Armed Forces. [applause]

[Lukyanov] Comrades deputies. I propose that you vote...[noise in the hall]. Do you have a question? Wait, first you listen to the text I am going to propose and then we will listen to proposals. I propose that you vote or discuss—for the Supreme Soviet's examination—the draft submitted by the USSR Ministers Council. The USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution on discharging from active military service certain categories of servicemen in conscription service.

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves: To discharge in August-September 1989 from active military service to continue their education, servicemen on conscription service who are students of day, internal, or higher educational establishments who were called up into the USSR Armed Forces in border, internal, and railway troops in 1986-1988. To include the actual time of their active military service into the set period of active military service of the above-mentioned servicemen.

This is a draft submitted for approval by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Are there any questions or remarks? [noise] No remarks? Then, comrades, I put this resolution to the vote. Deputies of both chambers are to vote at the same time. Who is for this resolution, raise your credentials. Who is against? Count, please. Five against. Abstentions? There are some, it seems. Three abstentions. So, five against and three abstained. Thus, the USSR Supreme Soviet's decree on discharging from active military service certain categories of servicemen in conscription service has been passed by the Supreme Soviet by the overwhelming majority. [passage omitted]

[Deputy Oleynik] Excuse me my enthusiasm. I would like to support Veniamin Fedorovich's candidature. A professional can be spotted straight away by certain details, and you have understood as much as I that he is at ease in such intricate labyrinths of legality. And in this respect, I would like to put forward one proposal, Veniamin Fedorovich.

So, rehabilitation of the thirties, forties, and fifties is underway now. It is a noble cause which works both on the state and our party. But, as you know, in the sixties to seventies the so-called Brezhnev-Suslov trials took place, and the corpus delicti was the same, as a rule—it was nationalism. I have familiarized myself with several cases, as a deputy of the republic's parliament, and, not being a specialist, I feel that they were frameups—evidence was distorted and even then it looked ludicrous. To put it bluntly, I will say that if today we used the criteria of the time and applied them to a roundtable discussion or the Vzglyad program, they would get about 75 years for cumulative offences. Some of my articles could get me about 50 years, too. You see, what heroes we have become when we are permitted to be bold! But those people only fought for their language and schools, something which is commonplace now. So, if possible, these cases should be reviewed and the people who, in essence, suffered innocently, should be rehabilitated and the rank of communist should be restored to them. This would enhance the party's prestige. Thank you. [applause] [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Comments on Rejected Nominees

LD1107173189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video interview with Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov, with unidentified 'Vremya' correspondent on 11 July in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] After Kondrat Zigmundovich Terekh was appointed USSR minister of trade, an interval was announced in the [Supreme Soviet] session's work. Nikolay Ivanovich [Ryzhkov], many Soviet viewers are wondering what will happen to those candidates who have not been approved in this hall? [Video shows unidentified correspondent and Ryzhkov talking in the hall]

[Ryzhkov] Six people failed to get an endorsement of their respective commissions—six people. You remember? All right. Of those six, those who were ministers at the time were... let us think who were ministers...

[Correspondent] Zakharov.

[Ryzhkov] Zakharov and comrade Gramov, and that is all. Comrade Gramov has asked to be pensioned off. It is too early for comrade Zakharov to retire on a pension; it appears that he has not yet sorted things out and nobody seems to have sorted things out in his case. Then, four nominees were not ministers, they were either deputy ministers or worked in other spheres, and they will continue working where they were before; if it was as deputy minister, he will continue as deputy minister. During the Supreme Soviet meeting, that is during the session, three people were not supported—comrade Kamentsev, comrade Konarev and comrade Busygin. I already talked about Busygin, yesterday evening he asked to be pensioned off.

[Correspondent] Will his request be granted?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, it will. Comrade Konarev has not yet sorted things out. I think that he will finally sort out his future in a few days. I have not spoken to him yet because I have had no time for talking. Similarly, comrade Kamentsev has given me his reasons in favor of retiring.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Ivanovich, serious thoughts about the amalgamation of certain ministries were voiced earlier and today. Today, for example, in connection with the Ministry of Communications, the main argument is that it seems hardly worth amalgamating both producers and consumers, I mean, users.

[Ryzhkov] I think that, on the whole, today's conversation took a wrong turn—absolutely wrong. Generally, they nearly rejected comrade Pervyshin for some unknown reason. You see, we are not going to amalgamate. Those who followed attentively our discussion earlier about the government's composition, i.e. the structure of government, heard that we are merging the Ministry of the Radio Industry and the Ministry of Communications Equipment Industry. That is what we are merging; we are merging those two ministries. However, there is an idea about transferring several factories which work purely for communications, several factories I stress, to the Ministry of Communications, so that they work together. How many factories? Well, maybe...

[Correspondent interrupting] In other words, it will not be a kind of mechanical amalgamation.

[Ryzhkov] Of course not. I do not know who invented this idea. Nobody is going to do this. You see, if we needed a minister of communications of the old type, one carrying a snoulder bag, then somebody else and not Pervyshin should have been appointed; somebody else could have remained there. When we were considering comrade Pervyshin—I understood incidentally—he put up strong resistance. He said, Why, I work in production, I manufacture equipment, and you foist communications upon me. We said, Comrade Pervyshin, we do not need the communicaitons we used to have. We need a different kind of communications, we need civilized communications. We must organize communications in a totally new way. We must do away with those shoulder bags, we need to put an end to the patriarchy that exists in our country now. Let us look at this realistically. You are young and we are older.

I assure you that if we fail to find nontraditional methods of providing telephone services, this will not happen in the country during our lifetime. However, if today we pour all the dissatisfaction with our lives onto those who come to speak from this rostrum, we will not find good people at all. We will find very mediocre people and they will do nothing. One must look around a bit, and, indeed, cool down a bit. If today's life brings pressure to bear on us this way, we will not find an optimum solution, we will not find it.

[Correspondent] Do you think that, so far, in this hall emotions have prevailed over common sense?

[Ryzhkov] Recently, yes.

Proposal on Student Conscripts Passed

LD1107134289 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A storm of applause, unprecedented in the new Soviet parliament, greeted Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's proposal today that all students drafted into the Army should be discharged before they complete their two-year service.

The Supreme Soviet decreed in a resolution approving the proposal that some 175,000 students will be discharged within the next two months.

It was suggested several times during the recent Congress of People's Deputies and the following parliamentary session that all student conscripts be given an early possibility to return to their colleges.

Radio Reports Conscript Decision

LD1107162489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Excerpt] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Over to Aleksandr Ruvinskiy in the All-Union Radio box in the Kremlin.

[Ruvinskiy] It's nice to be able to begin this bulletin with some good news. On a proposal from the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet has just decided to release from active military service day students at higher educational establishments conscripted from 1986 to 1988. They are to be released in August-September of this year so that they can continue their education. This is a decision that has been demanded by the Women's and Youth Affairs Committee and individual groups of deputies. It was supported during one of the sittings by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. I remind you that USSR Minister of Defense, Comrade Yazov, has spoken against such a decision. Strange as it may seem, five deputies voted against the decision. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Visits Leningrad, Meets Citizens 11 Jul

LD1107210689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Report by Matvey Frolov on 11 July walkabout by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, with unindentified workers at the Izhorskiy works in Leningrad]

[Excerpts] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, arrived in Leningrad today. Comrade Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, arrived with him.

At Pulkovo Airport, the guests were met by Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, and other leaders of party and local Soviet bodies. This is the first visit by Comrade Gorbachev to the Izhorskiy works. With him were Comrades Razumovskiy and Solovyev.

Listen to a report by our correspondent Matvey Frolov:

[Frolov] [Passage omitted] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev familiarized himself today with this giant of Soviet industry. He was warmly welcomed on the shop floor by both the metallurgists and the workers who make consumer goods. They held lively conversations at the entrance to the factory's administrative section and in the courtyard and on the shop floor Here is one of those conversations:

[Begin recording] [Man] How is restructuring going to proceed in the future? Will it involve the working class or the party leaders? Or both together?

[Gorbachev] I think they will be working together.

[Man] Together, yes?

[Gorbachev] Why?

[Man] Why, eh?

[Gorbachev] For all the following: I would not separate it, but naturally the people have the last say in restructuring. And the people are first and foremost the working class. And the working class should—via the things that are now being opened up to it, by means of the working collective, by means of its members that belong to the local soviets, by means of the fact that opportunities are opening up to it in connection with economic reform—by these means the working class should urge on and put these matters on a firm foundation.

And naturally, and I am telling you, one must be prepared to change things. At present, of course, there is some tension, a restructuring of that type is in progress. There is some confusion and some hold ups as well, and some people are saying: What kind of restructuring is this? It is supposed to be better, but some things have become even worse. But first of all, there are issues that are not connected with restructuring at all. They are, so to speak, so evident. In any form they must be resolved, both in production and regardless of the form of politics. They are simple questions, simple issues. Transport should run, but there is a hold up.

[Woman] And what about the railways?

[Gorbachev] And the railways, too. The service sphere should operate. Public utilities should be working, the shops should be doing their business. These are the very things, you see, that need to be taken under supervision and there should be order there, just as there is public order. If someone has taken to drink while there is restructuring and democracy, if he has decided to let himself go a bit, so to speak, to throw all restraint aside [Gorbachev changes thought] And the working class [Gorbachev changes thought] But there is, there is.

[Woman] If there will never be any discipline, we shall never improve anything.

[Man] Well, Deputy Likhachev told us that the question of legislation on pensions has not been included on the agenda at the 2d congress. Is that right?

[Gorbachev] You know, for the moment, the question of the agenda for the 2d congress has not yet been decided. For that reason, he was too hasty. If I do not know what is on the agenda, it is hardly likely that he knows. No, he does not know. That is the first thing. The second thing is that at the moment, we want the first part to consist of things that were spoken about in the first congress—about those who are insufficiently provided for. That must be tackled in such a way that everything is resolved by the new year. Now, as far as the law on the provision of pensions is concerned, it is being drafted and everything must be done to ensure that it is ready by the start of the second 5-year period, it can be discussed and passed, that is at the beginning of the next 5-year period, which means we have 1 year at our disposal. That is a big issue, you see, and there are a lot of funds.

[Woman] Do have you any plans for getting us out of the position now? What actual plans do you have?

[Gorbachev] From which position?

[Woman] From the difficult position in which we are now working.

[Gorbachev] I think, by continuing what we have started to do—by continuing the economic reform. If we leave things in the way we have been doing them up to now, to issue commands to all enterprises right from the center, and we have hundreds of thousands of enterprises, nothing will come of this. That means we must look at the law which we introduced concerning enterprises taking into account that we have lived with it for 1 and ½ to 2 years and see what is lacking in it, but we must absolutely continue to travel along the path of economic reform. That is the first thing. It is absolutely necessary for an enterprise to have independence. But independence always entails responsibility and better work, too, in general for everyone to arrange things better. The main stake must still be made on the production collectives. In order for this to be decided it is necessary at the government level, and now in the Supreme Soviet, to adopt a further range of statutes so this reform that we have begun should continue. And the main thing is that it should continue persistently and consistently and that it should be given the opportunity to make itself felt.

The situation so far is like this: We have moved away from methods of administration by command but we have not yet arrived at the new economic methods. We now have a state of neither one thing nor the other and this is having its effect. And I know that this is having its effect on supplies and this and that.

But what has begun among you now, in your concern—at your Izhorskiy works—what has begun [Gorbachev changes thought] and you have found new products since life has created the demand, and you have begun work in petrochemicals, and for the railways ministry. That means you have created prospects. Before, you waited for Gosplan to say what to do. But now you have worked out the prospects. You have drawn up a plan for further modernizing the shops—I have been shown it. I did not know so I asked whether everyone had participated in the plan. I was told that there was discussion in the shops, there was discussion at the labor collectives council, and at the works' conference there was discussion of the plan for social development—what would happen with housing, what would happen with working conditions and with other, with all questions.

[Several voices] There was discussion.

[Gorbachev] There was discussion. I have been shown the plan.

[Several voices] By the Izhorskiy workers. It was in the press.

[Gorbachev] There you are. (?It was discussed). So, I see the most important thing to be the enterprise. That is the first thing. The second thing is that local soviets should really feel that they have power. For this it is necessary to create the conditions—a law is now being completed on this and we shall discuss this at the fall Congress of Soviets—a law on local organs of power. That means that the soviet will not have to beg and ask for things from everyone who lives and works on its territory. It should receive firm allocations so that it can develop and provide amenities for the town, develop the services sphere, and so on and so on. Everything that concerns its functions, so to say, must be done. Now, we say that it is necessary in social questions—what are the social ones? there are three main and decisive areas in social questions—housing, foodstuffs, and goods.

In all these areas we can now see what will happen, where we will get to, if we continue in the way we have for the past 2 or 3 years. It can be seen that we must step up housing or else we will not succeed in getting there by the year 2000. But the issue here is not just housing—building materials and the houses themselves—also at issue are furniture and sanitary equipment, the whole range of things. And the most important thing is that it is necessary to give the opportunity to everyone who can build—individuals, cooperatives, whoever has the opportunity—to make use of this. That is, to continue via government efforts, the efforts of enterprises that have acquired the funds, and the efforts of individual construction and so on.

The most important question is what must be done with the market. A vast mass of money has appeared in our country. And, therefore, everything that is increasing today—poorly and badly perhaps, but it is increasing a little—everything is increasing apart from a few instances where there are disruptions. Everything is increasing but you do not feel it. On the contrary, one even feels a tightening of the market.

So what is the matter? At the Congress I tried to say on this that the following has happened: In our country, goods, for example, over 6 months, goods are on the increase at a rate of 9 percent. The plan for goods is being fulfilled, and the increase would seem to be large—9 percent.

[Man] Large.

[Gorbachev] Large, an increase of more than 20 billion rubles. But growth in wages over that time, comrades, is somewhere in the region of 12 percent, 5...

[Woman, interrupting] What sort of a wage is it when you go to a shop to make purchases and there is nothing—what then does a wage get you?

[Man, interrupting] [Passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] You get... [Gorbachev changes thought] you understand what this is about, when we simply give out money that is not backed up by goods and that is not connected with an improvement in the production of goods, it loses its meaning, and it turns out that when we had less money and less goods, but when this was balanced on the market, things were better...

[Woman, interrupting] ...after the war (? we had splendid markets)...

[Gorbachev, continuing] ...but now everything seems to be being swept away. And finally, the last point, about goods: We have now got the defense sector involved. We are reconstructing the whole of the light and food industries, including in Leningrad, where the fundamental reconstruction of all of the light and food industries is under way. Of course, of course, time will be required, which goes without saying. The defense sector has taken on itself the manufacture of this output to the tune of several billion rubles, and it has begun to put goods out—400 of the best enterprises and design bureaus have become involved in this. Of course all of this will require efforts—equipment, to start with—and then at the factory, all of this will make demands.

[Woman] We need to [word indistinct] (?such goods) seriously.

[Gorbachev] No, we are giving the defense sector the most expensive consumer goods, so they should produce the most complicated consumer goods and equipment for the light and food industries. In short, in short...

[Women, interrupting] We will swing this round.

[Gorbachev, continuing] Last year for the first time in our country, the B group of goods, which is connected with the light and food industries, exceeded heavy industry—for the first time in many decades. So we are softly turning this fly-wheel, our enormous economy, in that direction.

[Man] Can I ask a question?

[Gorbachev] And foodstuffs, too, foodstuffs too, of course.

[Man] With regard to ration coupons, when.. [changes thought] for a long time...

[Woman, interrupting] We, with regard to tea especially...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You know, as far as all of these washing powders, all of this toothpaste, soap, salt, and matches are concerned; I'll put it to you straight that apart from soap, which was increasing in our country at a rate of 2 to 3 percent, all of this was increasing in our country at the rate of 4 to 5 percent. But the market rocked and such a panic ensued that people seized up everything. We have now bought up this washing powder. We have increased its sales by 40 percent and people are still grabbing and grabbing.

[Man] The psychology of man.

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes, yes. Once the market has been upset, you see, people are uncertain, then a panic on the market begins. Therefore, we now need to normalize the situation on the market. That is the most important thing.

[Man] Please allow me one more question. Will the law on local elections be issued? And about what you said previously at the Congress about the combining of the jobs of first secretary of the rayon committee and chairman of the executive committee, will this joining of jobs take place in local conditions? What sort of law will there be about local elections?

[Gorbachev] I understand your question. The law about local elections in the republics, rayons, and towns will be adopted by the republics. The question arises: What about public organizations, are they to be kept or not? Is a congress needed in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic? Many small republics say they do not need one. Russia is now giving thought to this and consulting the oblasts about whether a congress is needed.

We in the country as a whole have held a congress. The congress forms the Supreme Soviet as a permanent body. Russia is pondering this. Further, what is to happen with the experience we have acquired with constituencies? Where should we go from here? I think that particularly worthy of consideration is the idea that is being put forward particularly by workers collectives, that the role of the labor collectives, workers' collectives, should be raised in putting forward candidacies. Because in the course of the election campaign in the union as a whole there was clearly a distortion to the detriment of the working class.

[Man] Yes, very much. [indistinct voices]

[Gorbachev] And we believe that since we introduced such a law we should have explained and told people all about this, so that the workers could discuss the matter and, on the basis of comparison and competition, could put forward their candidates as they see fit, so that the working class would not just be present at the works, but would be present at all levels of power. Therefore, we believe that this is a shortcoming which must...

[Man, interrupting] Not be repeated.

[Gorbachev] Which must not be repeated. But I think it will not be repeated even if the republics do not change the law; the working class is also now, so to speak, and is catching the drift, catching the drift [Gorbachev repeats himself]. And I welcome this. I welcome the fact that the voice of the working class... [Gorbachev changes thought] I look at those workers and peasants who have got into the Supreme Soviet and I listen to them every day when I am there. I can tell you that today's modern worker is capable of taking part in the political process, in elaborating decisions, to take part in and to shoulder the elaboration.

[Man] The worker knows what is what.

[Gorbachev] He does and that is why he should be present everywhere, at the level of the rayon and the town and the oblast and the republic and in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Man] He has little learning but he succeeds.

[Gorbachev] He succeeds.

[Man] You have not replied to my second question about combining jobs.

[Gorbachev] With reference to combining jobs, this is how we look at it: It should be decided locally.

[Man] Locally.

[Gorbachev] Locally. As they see fit. It should be democratic. That is, we are not going to insist strictly—do it this way and not any other way. Let them decide locally...

[Man] We now have no need...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Let it be looked at and determined locally.

[Man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, here is my question. I am interested in this question: When will things be simplified between—understand, I am a building worker and I would like to ask this question—when will things be simplified from the worker, the bottommost link, to the ministry; that is, the elimination of the trusts and main administrations? Why does this question arise?

[Gorbachev] Correct, correct.

[Man] The point is that now there is a clash, a natural clash between production and the cooperatives. Why? The point is that the cooperatives have a larger wages fund. Why? Because, they are putting the squeeze on the bureaucratic apparatus that is maintained at our expense, at the expense of the working class. I used to be an ordinary worker and now I work as an engineer. Why

do I ask such a question? The point is that today as a result of these clashes, the cooperatives are practically unable to conclude business contracts. Everything is done by wheeling and dealing. There is virtually no other way. That is the first question. The second, and the question automatically arises from this, the best production cadres who really are fine specialists know their own worth and they are going off to the cooperatives. That is, a clear imbalance is beginning to appear between state and cooperative production. A further question arises automatically from this [passage indistinct].

[Gorbachev] You have raised a very correct question, a very correct one. And, in general, all the approaches to construction must be changed. First, we must change to a system whereby everyone works, gets credit, and builds. We must to the utmost cut out all the centralized capital investment that everyone wants to get hold of. These investments, as they say, come free; they do not need to be earned. Everyone takes as much as they want and do not have to account for it. They take years with their building. Again, this is of no concern to them. That is, our whole investment cycle must be changed, and, in the first place, if you want to build something, get the funds from the bank, but you must pay it back, pay a certain amount of interest, and then you will think about how much to take, for what period, how much you can implement, and so on. That is one side. And second, what you say...

[Man, interrupting] There must be a reduction in the amount of incomplete construction work.

[Gorbachev] Absolutely. Because the greater the amount of incomplete construction work and construction that takes a long time to complete, the greater the burden you will have to bear and the more you will have to pay. But now, no one pays for anything.

And the second subject that you bring up, these intermediate links: The main mass of building workers in the country has spoken out against them. And at present these proposals on capital construction and on the organization of the whole management of these proposals on capital construction and on the organization of the whole management of these very complicated and important complexes are being elaborated and will be introduced for discussion at the Supreme Soviet. So, that this will, so to say...

[Man, interrupting] It will take another 2 or 3 or 4 years.

[Gorbachev] No, I think this should be introduced within 6 months.

[Several people] Many thanks. Goodbye. [end recording]

Further on Gorbachev Walkabout

LD1107234689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent S. Dukhavin from Leningrad]

[Text] [Dukhavin] The stay of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on Leningrad soil began at the Izhorskiy Zavod enterprise. This is one of the oldest enterprises, the same age as the city on the Neva. The heroic defense of Leningrad during the years of the Great Patriotic War has gone down in history forever. The workshops were the front line for the people of Leningrad at that time. The first meeting was with machine-builders.

[Begin recording] [Video shows crowds around Gorbachev's car as he talks to officials.] [Unidentified man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what do you think of the "housing—2000" program, is it realistic or not? I recently read an interview with Yeltsin. He said it is unrealistic; it's like in the sixties when Khrushchev gave out such promissary notes.

[Gorbachev] I'll tell you this: If we build as we were until this 5-year plan, then it is unrealistic. However, in 3 years we have increased housing by 14 or 16 percent. If we build like this, as we are building, then it is also unrealistic. Therefore the calculations are these: We can, through state capital investment, through building by enterprises themselves, through cooperatives and individual construction...

[Unidentified man interrupting] [words indistinct] of cooperatives.

[Gorbachev] [words indistinct] So, if we create the necessary resource base for this—building materials, in short—then this is possible. First, we must reduce the volume of capital investment which is not being utilized. Building projects take a long time, we bury, so to speak, resources for many years and get no return on the investment. So it's better to end it and put it out into the market, and let anyone who wants to—apart from what I mean on the planned procedure side—then those who want to build on credit or to solve their questions can do so through cooperative housing. That's where we need more resources. At the moment, generally speaking, it's not cash that's holding us up, it's a construction base that's holding us up. I have to say that it's not even house construction itself—houses are growing like mushrooms—but after that people need more furniture, more crockery, more sanitation equipment. So we adopted a number of special decisions. In other words, we must build up the tempo and then everything we are now working at on the 13th 5-year plan, this housing will increase even more, including all types. This work shows us that it is still possible.

[Unidentified man] May I ask another question: Why are you without your wife? [laughter]

[Gorbachev] Raisa Maksimovna is deeply involved in certain things at the moment. It's private! But since you've asked this question, it's like this: Some people say: What's this Mikhail Sergeyevich up to, he can't run the country, his wife's always with him. You know, Raisa Maksimovna is someone who has been a teacher of philosophy for quarter of a century, a senior student lecturer. She no longer works now, so to speak, but in connection with my duties, she has a great deal of work and a huge workload. I think you understand and you don't need me to tell you. Comrades, I think...it seems to me I have lived three lives in 4 years. So I am grateful to my family for their support. [end recording]

[Dukhabin] Then the meeting moved to the enterprise's shop floor. [Video shows Gorbachev in the factory amidst grey-suited gentlemen and then talking to the workers and answering their questions.] This is the enterprise that is called the flagship of nuclear machine building in the country. Flagship, naturally it is the flagship, but here there are problems similar to those that have emerged in other enterprises in the industry:

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] What else is troubling you?

[Unidentified worker] People are concerned because life has become slightly more difficult for us. From a political point of view, I think it is more or less all right, but as far as the economic side is concerned. [passage indistinct] You know I spent many years working in an enterprise.

[Gorbachev] Some kind of order and discipline has to be introduced there. For all that, some order must be introduced there, in the sense of fairness. That is [words indistinct] inefficient management. Everything has to be done. It is a must and that will provide a bonus. But the decisive thing is for all that that it will not save us. In order for everything to change for the better, thoroughly, for a long time to come, we must work in a different way.

[Second unidentified worker] And what about these speculating cooperatives, are they going to be closed down or not?

[Gorbachev] What a lot people have to say about these cooperatives at your factory. [Workers comment in background: no, no.] (?We shall not suppress them.)

[Third unidentified worker] Cooperatives are all right, but only these cooperatives that today...

[Gorbachev interrupting] Look at today's LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA; Read it when you get home. There is an article which asks Leningraders which cooperatives they are in favor of and which they are against. [Voices raised, inaudible interjections] We have now given the right, we now have given the right to the republics and oblasts to decide about the cooperatives for themselves. What they need is what there should be. The tax that should be imposed on them is the one that should be. Right there on the spot. What can we determine from Moscow?

[Fourth unidentified worker] I think there should be some kind of demand against cooperatives from which, let's say, you buy the same product in a box (?but at a higher price). Something must be done.

[Gorbachev] I fully agree. That is, those cooperatives that produce goods and services and repairs that are good are a help. That is... [Gorbachev pauses] that is how they should be differentiated.

[Unidentified worker] And those that are engaged in speculation, pure and simple, in such... [Voice drowned out by machinery noise]

[Gorbachev] You know, I am completely in agreement with you here. (?In this section there is) equipment, automation. Such a unique workshop capable of producing such output. This is unique output. Colossal output. And of such high quality, and of such a size—that one must work and produce such products. This is what I am talking about. I think...

[Unidentified female worker] [Words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] I, for example, am convinced that we shall not manage without nuclear power engineering. It is another matter—that it must be reliable, and this concerns science—it concerns the producers, the machine-builders. It should provide for ecology, it should be absolutely safe, and finally it should be situated in the correct place, so to speak, from the point of view that again (?safety) tasks will be solved. Here there have already been mistakes. We all have to put them right. But that we cannot do without nuclear power engineering is an opinion shared by everyone. [passage indistinct] Therefore we have to look for new sources. Nuclear power engineering and solar energy. There is much research into this now. [word indistinct] If there is no power, everything stops. [word indistinct] We cannot get anywhere without power engineering. [end recording]

[Dukhabin] Then hundreds of machine builders came to the enterprise's conference hall. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke about the main directions in our country's further development and answered numerous questions. [Video shows a final sweeping shot of the inside of the factory; scene in the conference hall with Gorbachev addressing the workers of the factory.]

Activities in Leningrad Reported

LD1107225589 Moscow TASS in English 2223 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Leningrad July 12 TASS—As it was already reported, Mikhail Gorbachav, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived in Leningrad on Tuesday. This is his third visit in the past four years to the country's major industrial and cultural centre, second only to Moscow.

The programme of Gorbachev's stay in Leningrad began in Leningrad's suburb, Kolpino. Izhorskiy Zavod, one of the leading centres of heavy machine-building in the USSR, is situated there. The enterprise now specialises in the manufacture of [words indistinct]

Real programmes of comprehensive solution of vital tasks for economy and ecology, providing housing, [words indistinct] and services for the working people were the main topics of Mikhail Gorbachev's informal conversation with workers of the plant.

During the conversation, much attention was given to housing construction. Gorbachev said that the pace of housing construction in the USSR was stepped up considerably over the past three years, but that this is not enough. He said calculations show that to resolve the problem it is necessary to pool efforts and means of state capital investments, enterprises, cooperatives, individual construction.

There were remarks that there is enough groceries in shops, that vegetables and fruits are expensive, that people do not approve of the activity of many cooperatives. Gorbachev said that in principle he is in favour of cooperatives, but such cooperatives that produce goods and building materials, provide services and function in conditions close to those of state enterprises.

Then Gorbachev had a conversation with managers and leading specialists of Izhorskiy Zavod amalgamation.

Gorbachev visited shops of the enterprise, had substantive conversations with workers and specialists, heard advise and proposals aimed at the improvement of the living standards of soviet people.

"We are now at a very difficult stage of transformations," the general secretary said. "In this situation it is very important to keep one's head, the more so as life poses ever new problems such as various shortages, irregularity in supply, social complexities. The economy relies above all on the initiative and energy of work collectives, but there is also an acute need of cardinal solutions to ensure that many of the burning problems are eliminated soon".

Gorbachev supported proposals which at the coming elections to local soviets would enable in a democratic way to take fuller into account the interests of work collectives, to ensure their wider representation in government bodies. "We do not need a situation when some people work, while others direct them", Gorbachev said. "There is a need for mechanisms providing for workers a real opportunity to manage production and the country at every level. Actions of workers' deputies at the recent congress, their work in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the entire situation in the country show that this is not just right but also necessary".

At the meeting Gorbachev answered numerous questions from those present about a wide range of problems of perestroika, the political and economic reforms the enhancement of the role of soviets, the intensification of the activity of party organisations.

In the afternoon Gorbachev met with members of the bureau of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, with secretaries of city and district committees of the party.

Ryzhkov on Gorbachev Visit, Supreme Soviet

LD1107135389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 July—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived in Leningrad today to discuss the situation in that city. Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said in a conversation with journalists covering the session of the Soviet parliament.

Replying to a TASS parliamentary correspondent, he explained that many problems had accumulated in Leningrad, the country's second most important city. The leadership of the oblast and the city had not been elected to the Supreme Soviet. The head of the government said that Mikhail Gorbachev had gone there to find out about the whole complex of issues on the spot.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers described the discussion now taking place in the USSR Supreme Soviet on the composition of the government as acute and useful, and described the criticism heard there as justified. "Our task now is to work out a program of action to heal the Soviet economy," he said.

Speaking about the members of the new government who had already been confirmed, Nikolay Ryzhkov described them as very well-qualified and competent specialists who had already gotten down to work. Incompetent and narrow-minded candidates would simply be unable to withstand the discussion in the new parliament, he stated. Nikolay Ryzhkov did not exclude the

possibility of the country's parliament returning to some of the candidatures which had already been rejected, but he stressed that the right of final decision belonged to the deputies themselves.

Nuclear Plant Incidents Due to 'Human Error'

LD1107205989 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Statistics just released by the USSR State Committee for Nuclear Plant Safety reveal that 30 incidents, nearly all of them due to human error, occurred at the country's 44 nuclear power reactors. Nikolay Gorshkov has the details:

[Gorshkov] The statistics represent an increase over the figure for May, for which no figure is given. In 19 of the June incidents reactors had to be shut down and in 11 others there was a fall in reactor output. The highest number of incidents were recorded at the plants in Smolensk in the west of Russia and Balakovo in southern Russia. A spillage of radioactive water form the cooling circuit occurred on 26 June at Kursk in Central Russia. The water, which swamped the floor of the plant, was pumped out the following day. The report says maintenance staff and plant operators were to blame. Such safety statistics are to be published in future on a regular basis, another advance in Soviet glasnost or openness.

Meanwhile, in Siberia, more than a million people in and around the city of Krasnoyarsk are campaigning to stop a project to build an underground nuclear waste dump. It is designed to handle waste from nuclear plants of the 10 member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The Soviet trade union daily TRUD reports that work on the dump started in secret 15 years ago but planning permission was granted only in 1984, that's about 5 years ago.

[Announcer] And when did the general public learn about the project?

[Gorshkov] It appears they learned about the secret site this year. The paper says people seeking official information on the project at first received only evasive answers to their questions and were advised not to make the issue public. The minister (Lev Seryabev), responsible for the nuclear industry, was quoted by the newspaper as saying the facility was behind schedule but would not be needed for storage purposes until the end of the century. The plan calls for the nuclear waste to be stored 2,200 feet underground in cavities between layers of clay. The facility would extend beneath the River Yenisey, one of the biggest in Siberia. For this reason, as well as the proximity of a large urban area and the risk of earthquakes in the area, the plan is being challenged on safety grounds, both by scientists and by local members of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Radio Broadcasts 10 Jul Supreme Soviet Recording

USSR Procuracy Members Confirmed

LD1007160289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 10 July begins broadcasting a recorded relay of the proceedings of the 10 July USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

The relay is introduced by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy who states that the work that had begun on Friday, 7 July to elect the USSR Procuracy was to be continued today. He says that Gorbachev and Ryzhkov are present after the Paris summit and Warsaw Pact summit in Bucharest. Almost half of the Council of Ministers have been confirmed in their posts, and that work is to continue, he says.

At 1402 GMT Gorbachev begins to speak, reiterating the points made by Ruvinskiy.

Smirnov is proposed as a member of the collegium of the USSR Procuracy. A vote is taken without discussion and Smirnov is confirmed with no votes against and (?three) abstentions.

Yuriy Nikolayevich Shadrin is also proposed as a member of the collegium of the USSR Procuracy. A vote is taken immediately and Shadrin is confirmed with no votes against and eight abstentions.

Skrebets, also proposed as member of the collegium of the procuracy, speaks about the responsibilities of the transport procuracy. He says "a serious situation is taking shape" with regard to crime on transport but the public will be kept informed of all extraordinary circumstances, especially the accidents that have been occurring recently. When asked whether the charter of the USSR Ministry of Railways runs counter to the USSR Constitution, he responds: no, the accidents that have taken place were the result of the ministry's charter not being strictly observed. Another questioner asks for Skrebets' view of the legal protection of transport workers. Skrebets agrees that it is insufficient and promises to review the matter. Should there be an inspection of the civil aviation fleet? Gosavianadzor already bears responsibility for this matter, the candidate says. What legal measures can be taken to prevent transport accidents? Raising labor, technical, and production discipline and a high level of organization are the answer to this, and measures are already in hand, Skrebets replies. Which high officials have faced criminal proceedings as a consequence of transport accidents? Skrebets cites some examples of disasters in which certain officials have been charged and other disciplinary measures taken. Skrebets is confirmed with ten abstentions.

In response to another question about the situation in Krasnadar Kray where he had served earlier, Skrebets confesses that there were problems in that area as everywhere during the years of "stagnation" but he says his own conscience is clear.

The next candidate for membership of the board of the USSR Procuracy is Yuriy Aleksandrovich Khitrin. He begins to speak about corrective labor institutions. As a result of the amnesties of recent years, he says, the numbers interned in such institutions has been halved. He gives a breakdown of the crimes committed by present inmates. There are certain issues that need to be looked into, he says, such as the social rehabilitation of those released. He is asked directly how many inmates there are now in corrective labor institutions: Just over 500,000, he says. Does Khitrin think that political prisoners should be interned separately from other prisoners? There are no longer political prisoners, Khitrin responds, saying: "I must say that several years ago there were more than a million people [in corrective labor institutions]. There are now just over 500,000 but you will told about this in greater detail, clearly, by the USSR minister of internal affairs who will be seeking confirmation."

Reading out some of the questions that have been put to him in writing Khitrin says: "Don't you consider that criminals and political prisoners should be kept separately? Deputy Medvedev. Comrade Medvedev, there are now no political prisoners, that's right. That is, there are four people in places of deprivation of liberty, that is, in one of the colonies, four people, and there have been convicted not for political crimes, but for treason in the form of espionage."

What measures are being taken to humanize labor colonies, Khitrin is asked? Various measures are now being taken, he says, a new plan is being elaborated which will be presented to the Supreme Soviet in the autumn. How can one explain the high crime rate in colonies? It is a problem, he says last year more than 100 people were killed in colonies. He speaks about the background of the inmates and the crowded conditions. In reply to a question about the Nizhniy Tagil colony, Khitrin says people guilty of state crimes were sent there and at present there are some former members of the USSR Ministry of the Interior. Each colony will, in the future, have a resident psychologist, Khitrin says. How should young girls be kept in labor colonies? There are special procedures for this, he responds. Should there be independent public supervision over prisons? There are procedures for government commissions and on occasions priests may visit prisons, says Khitrin.

A vote is taken and Khitrin is confirmed with seven votes against the nine abstentions.

The relay continues.

Bakatin Addresses Assembly

LD1007171589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1440 GMT continues its recorded relay of the 10 July proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1440 GMT Gorbachev, in the chair, says the board of the USSR Procuracy is now appointed and discussion can return to formation of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Bakatin is facing reelection as USSR minister of the interior. He speaks about the country's crime rate which he says is growing and which has little prospect of falling in the near future. Bakatin draws a connection between the social changes taking place in the country and the increase in crime. He speaks about the traditional Marxist view that crime is a result of the exploitationist nature of capitalist society; as a result the question of crime in Soviet society had not been seriously addressed in the past. The nature of crime has changed, he says, but methods of dealing with it have not.

Under glasnost, the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has been forced to confront some difficult questions which it had previously been able to avoid. On the other hand, the MVD organs have also undertaken a great deal more work. Bakatin says there is a "crisis" in the battle against crime. He stresses that he is not saying this to inspire panic but in order to identify the problem. Expenditures on crime investigation must be increased to prevent any return of the repressions that occurred in the past. Bakatin also speaks of the high degree of inertia in the MVD organs, stressing that a firm course has been taken to shun falsity and ostentation in favor of the bitter truth. Decentralization will play an important role in the struggle against crime he says. The first steps have been taken towards democratization and the dismantling the "command-administrative system" in the MVD. Financial incentives will replace the traditional method of leveling down pay, although the funds are simply not available to do this in a big way, he says.

Bakatin raises the question of the militia's position in conflicts between nationalities, in dealing with refugees, and nationalist provocateurs. The latter should not be allowed; stability is essential in a democratic society he says.

Bakatin says: "It must be said that there is in our work a totally new problem for us. This is the question of interethnic conflicts and public safety. It is now holding us in a state of constant tension, taking up a mass of energy and attention. Literally just 2 years ago, there was no such problem. The militia doesn't oppose any pluralism of opinions within the framework of socialist ideas, but at the present time we are concerned at the ever more frequent attempts to resolve problems by force, and the law, it must be said, is beginning to retreat in the face of

violence. This is particularly noticeable in interethnic relations. There are sufficient examples, I could cite them, but you probably have a good idea. Refugees have appeared in the country. This bears unerring witness to the fact that we have allowed a manifest slackening in the application of the force of the law in curtailing violations of national and racial equality of rights. These articles in the code are in practice inoperative, either in the old or the new edition. As an example I can say that in the whole of 1988, only one person was convicted under this article.

The law is totally inoperative with regard to incitors and those who inspire ethnic hostility. The law enforcement bodies and, primarily, I have to say, the procurators of the union republics, dilligently avoid these procedures, preferring to qualify acts, manifestly occurring on the basis of ethnic strife, only according to such consequences as murder, hooliganism, or grievous bodily harm. Criminal manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism are thus reduced to the level of ordinary crimes of violence, the political edge of legal assessments is reduced, and the impression is created of a real lack of protection or the equality of rights that is proclaimed in the Constitution. We musn't allow this. Democratization of society has granted freedom to reason and creativity, but it was not a matter of freedom for blackmail, provocations, and violence. It has been clear for a long time that there is no alternative to restructuring, and it is also clear that the guarantee of restructuring lies in greater democracy. But the guarantee of greater democracy, it is probably quite obvious, lies in the stability of society, in respect for, and compliance with the law.

"I would like to be understood correctly: I am not urging that we put the screws on. That is all the incitors want, and they are already prophesying on all sides an allegedly inevitable return to the repressions. This is undoubtedly nonsense, because political problems cannot be resolved other than by political means, but we must answer lawlessness and violence with force, and moreover, force that relies on the law and protects democracy."

At 1500 GMT Bakatin says that he is "deeply convinced" of the need for internal troops so that the Army could be freed of domestic obligations. Gorbachev interrupts him to inquire about the specific number of the militia and the internal troops. Bakatin states: "just counting the militia we have 700,000, while of internal troops, if we do not count those troops that protect [penal] colonies, we have today a complement of 36,000, including the fact that of them only 18,000 can take action without first contacting their base."

The relay continues.

Bakatin Confirmed

LD1007183289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1505 GMT continues its recorded relay of the 10 July proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1505 GMT Bakatin is asked about alleged mass resignations from the militia. In reply he cites figures emphasizing the poor pay for militiamen.

Bakatin is asked about the expulsion from the Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies of militia Captain (Arzhannikov) in connection with the Leningrad militia's meeting at the Dvortsovaya Ploshchad in the spring this year. Bakatin responds: "yes indeed, Mr. deputy: militia Captain (Arzhannikov) has been discharged. This is what I think the attitude ought to be like: There are laws which are in force. They may be good, or bad; popular, or unpopular—but it is essential to observe them strictly and this is even more the case where those who have donned uniforms and have taken upon themselves the obligation to observe the law are concerned. We have gotten to the bottom of this fact. All the militiamen and officers who acknowledged this appearance on the Dvortsovaya Ploshchad, this unsanctioned meeting as erroneous—they all remained to work; but those who persist in their right, as it were, to violate even unpopular law and to solve goals, good though they may be, with the use of this method—they cannot serve in the militia."

Deputy Misuna from Krasnoyarsk says that the inhabitants of Siberia have a demand that Bakatin should refrain from sending prisoners to Krasnoyarsk for exile. Let them serve their punishment where they are sentenced he says. Bakatin says this is a perfectly justified demand, in accordance with the law. "People should serve their terms of punishment where they were sentenced. At present, however, this issue is very complicated, in connection with these sharp cuts I have mentioned," Bakatin states.

Deputy Degtyarev asks what gases the MVD has at its disposal to disperse meetings and demonstrations. Bakatin responds: "In order to disperse meetings and demonstrations, the MVD has no gases. The MVD has the cheremukha-type tear gases used to seize armed criminals, to put a halt to mass disturbances and group violations of public order, to repel attacks on citizens and so forth. Who has the right to give orders to use these gases? Commanders of military units and formations with responsibility for carrying out specific operations and those in charge of specific operations can allow the use of gases. Tell us where, in particular, were gases used and what gases were they? In 1988 and this year this weapon was used 410 times when armed criminals were detained; 88 times when mass disturbances in corrective labor colonies were stopped, and six times during mass disturbances in Sumgait, Kirovabad, Nakhichevan, Tbilisi, Fergana, and Novyy Uzen—in all 611 [as heard] devices."

In response to another question, Bakatin says that the struggle against corruption in Uzbekistan should be continued. He indicates that last year 47,200 people were killed in the USSR in road accidents. Concerning the mafia, Bakatin confesses that he is unable to say why organized crime had not been eliminated, but says that

measures are being taken. Bakatin says that three cars per hour are stolen in the USSR. And crime among adolescents is growing at a rate of 11 percent per year.

At 1520 GMT Bakatin is asked why the MVD organs did nothing about speculation. He says it was a matter of staffing. He compares expenditure on policing in the USSR with that in the United States stating that "in our country it is considerably lower". Asked if he knows anything about an alleged incident in which cheremukha gas was thrown in the restaurant of the capital's Hotel Moskva yesterday, Bakatin says he knows of this.

At 1530 GMT Deputy Likhanov from Kirov is given the floor and takes the opportunity to praise Bakatin who, he says, has worked well in his positions in that area. Deputy Zhuravlev from Belorussia also says he is convinced that Bakatin is qualified for the position of USSR minister of internal affairs. Deputy Samarin from Orel says that the MVD should pay attention to relations among nationalities and republics. A bulldozer operator from Latvia also speaks in support of Bakatin. A vote is taken in favor of continuing the discusion. After the vote, a deputy from Leningrad raises the issue of a certain militia captain—Ordzhanikov—who was sacked for misdemeanors. Gorbachev says the case needs further investigation.

A vote is held, and Bakatin is confirmed with 7 votes against and 28 abstentions.

At 1549 GMT Gorbachev proposes a break in the proceedings for 20 minutes.

The recorded relay continues.

Chazov Defends his Record

LD1007191889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 10 July proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1550 GMT, the recording of the Supreme Soviet proceedings continues with the resumption of the session, which begins with Gorbachev's proposal of Chazov as USSR minister of health.

Chazov begins to speak, giving statistics about hospital beds and lamenting the poor level of supplies and equipment in many of them he says that health care must receive more financing: Among the developed countries the USSR spends least on health care. Chazov praises the activities of the eye surgeon Fedorov who makes money for himself and for the state. He says he believes the state should establish a norm for the nation's health care expenditures based on each member of the population. There must be a state health insurance, he says, to which enterprises and local soviets can contribute.

Chazov calls for decentralization of health care responsibilities. The Ministry of Health cannot carry responsibility for every health care establishment in the country. There should be new forms of administration in the health care system including leasing. Furthermore, preventive methods of medicine should be given greater emphasis—this is connected with the problem of the poor ecological condition of some areas. Chazov also mentions radiation pollution which affects the food chain. He speaks of enterprises which had been shut for violating limits for the emission of noxious substances. Chazov places priority on maternity care in the country's health program. Chazov expresses the hope that the situation with medical equipment will improve as a result of the conversion of defense enterprises to civilian production. In conclusion Chazov says that health concerns all society and the problem must be solved by society, not by an individual minister.

At 1605 GMT Chazov begins to answering deputies' questions. In response to a question about the sickness in Chernovts, Chazov confirms this was the result of chemical pollution. Asked how many aids patients are there in the USSR, Chazov says there are 271 HIV carriers and 14 patients with full-blown aids. Chazov mentions that there is a law on the internment of prisoners in psychiatric institutions in order to prevent people from using psychiatry incorrectly. He stressed that there are centers for "internationalist servicemen" where they can recuperate.

At 1620 GMT in response to a question on the measures being taken to improve the state of infant mortality in Central Asia, Chazov summarizes the steps taken by both health care and public health bodies, including securing clean water supplies.

At 1622 GMT in connection with the Chernobyl accident, Chazov states categorically that there are no secret figures in this regard. Twenty people have recently been diagnosed as having sickness directly connected with the accident. A special expert commission is dealing with all disputes on the subject.

At 1624 GMT Chazov says the "Leningrad experiment" is under way—not only in Leningrad but also in other towns—to assess the effectiveness of financial autonomy in polyclinics and medical establishments. He says in connection with privileges for certain individuals for health care, Gorbachev has announced the establishment of a commission to examine all allegations of such preference. Chazov enlarges on the expansion of tomographic services for the population as a whole. The question of privilege is not a medical issue, but a social one, one which the Supreme Soviet should settle, he states.

At 1628 GMT Chazov asserts that he has always drawn attention to the shortcomings of the health service and has never concealed its defects nor tried to halt positive changes. He cites letters he wrote to Brezhnev and

Chernenko to promote health care, and to oppose construction of a nuclear power station near Kuybyhev. He has always defended his principles, he affirms

The relay continues.

Chazov Appointment Approved

LD1007193489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1630 GMT continues its recorded relay of the 10 July proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1630 GMT Gorbachev suggests moving on to the debate, giving the floor to a Ukrainian delegate, Amosov, who defends Chazov's candidacy, asserting that even Chazov cannot do everything. The supply of medicines is a problem, he says, but given the 10 percent rise in use of medicine per annum, it is hardly surprising that the industry cannot cope. In connection with the "fourth section"—medical care for privileged people—this is a political question.

At 1640 GMT Deputy Zhigunova of Karbardino-Balkariya expresses support for Chazov's candidacy, calls for more maternity and pediatric services, and for higher salaries for the staff in these areas. Environmental measures are also important in ensuring health.

At 1645 GMT Deputy (Serpukhov) discusses the high level of mortality from cardiovascular diseases, and calls for more attention to be given to preventive work.

At 1647 GMT Deputy Namazova backs Chazov, who, she says, has a good knowledge of the situation at the grassroots. She calls for more resources to be devoted to maternity homes and children's health care institutions.

At 1650 GMT Gorbachev says there are still at least ten deputies who wish to speak. After a vote on whether to continue the debate or not, Deputy Meshalkin takes the floor. He says heart disease is stealing as many lives as all the natural disasters put together; the USSR is failing to react to the need to establish cardiac surgery centers and to develop the skills that could save lives. Complaints about the cost fail to take account of the repayment to the state in terms of labor and lives saved. Children born with heart defects have a high mortality; these could be saved, as they are not only in developed countries like the United States, but also in countries such as Peru and the PRC.

At 1702 GMT Deputy Militenko raises the matter of health resorts and spas, which offer excellent opportunities for therapy. Water pollution, however, and environmental pollution generally, is not controlled and monitored he says. Resort areas should be declared national parks and developed accordingly, with more research into therapeutic methods.

At 1707 GMT writer Belov, of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic union of writers, reiterates his questions to Chazov, connected with the mortality due to abuse of alcohol and tobacco.

At 1710 GMT Deputy Khmura calls for a review of medicine production, and for the Ministry of Health to look into the question of provision of such treatments as mud treatments.

At 1713 GMT Deputy (Rakhmanova) asserts that medical care is not the concern of doctors alone, and that preventative medicine is vital, especially in the case of maternity and child care, including swimming pools, saunas, and water treatment centers. The children's fund has done a great deal of work in this respect he says, and Gorbachev has already announced that a fourth section clinic is to be handed over for children. Child nutrition is being neglected and dotors are poorly qualified, he states.

At 1720 GMT Gorbachev says four more deputies have announced their desire to speak, and more are heard from the floor asking for the right to speak. A vote is taken, and deputies opt for an end to the debate and a vote on Chazov's candidacy. With 18 abstentions, Chazov is approved as minister of health. The morning session concludes and Gorbachev announces an intermission.

The relay continues.

Busygin Candidacy Discussed

LD1007203289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1725 GMT continues its relay of the 10 July proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin with a recording of the start of the evening session.

At 1725 GMT Gorbachev calls Busygin to the rostrum. In defense of his candidacy as USSR minister of the timber industry, Busygin says that the system of moving to financial autonomy is under way, and he explains the reorganization of the timber procurement and processing industry to maximize output and protect resources. The reorganization and rationalization will proceed alongside moves to provide workers with housing, with plans for contruction far in excess of plan, he says. Amenities will be constructed as well. Busygin says the industry has so far failed to fulfil the requirements of the population for goods made from timber, such as furniture. The 1990 plan aims to increase furniture production, in marking furniture, too; far better use is to be made of the natural raw material than hitherto. Timber felling machinery should be modernized to avoid further damage to young trees. Far more care is to be taken of the environment: The moves taken to protect Lake Baykal are evidence of this.

At 1738 GMT Busygin begins to answer questions. He explains that purification installations are being installed at the Volskiy works in the Mari Soviet Socialist Republic. He asserts that there are plans to reduce timber floating on endangered rivers. Deputy Litvintsev submits a written question stating that the pre-election campaign showed that people would prefer to use wood to heat their homes, but pensioners are given too little to last the long winters, and he asks where are city folk to get their wood fuel? Deputy Gayer touched on the problem of hunting forests for the Nanay folk in Khabarovsk. Busygin asserts his readiness to tackle this. The ministry has worked out a program to provide timber resources for population in the Far East, he says. Another question deals with the problem of drained marshes in Karelia and what the ministry intends to do to rehabilitate these areas. Kondapoga cellulose works, Busygin asserts, has purification installations, but inspectors will be sent to this and other such works to ensure regulations are observed.

At 1746 GMT a deputy asks a question on housing construction in Ufa, timber procurement in Chelyabinsk, and salaries for timber workers in Tomsk Oblast. In answer to a question on what to do with Bratsk reservoir, where huge amounts of forest were inundated, Busygin says that the assistance of cooperatives and foreign firms is being sought to retrieve the timber.

At 1752 GMT Deputy Dyakov of Astrakhan Oblast asks about the shortage of furniture: How much furniture, he asks, is make for the administrative sphere? Why not reduce the amount for furniture made specially for management, and give it to the people instead. He supports Busygin's candidacy.

At 1755 GMT Deputy Antanaytis, for the environmental protection commission, says that Busygin's candidacy was just about passed by the commission, but that a petition was received from ecological groups in Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Reading out the letter, Antanaytis reads that Busygin should not be confirmed in his post, since he is responsible, as minister, for flagrant violations of ecological principles. Forests have been exhausted in areas of the USSR, one of the richest timber countries in the world. Secondly, the ecological balance has been wrecked. There is mass pollution of the environment. Raw material has been squandered. Whoever holds our nature dear should not support Busygin, he says.

At 1800 GMT Deputy Yakuttis calls for the reorganization of timber procurement procedures to ensure full use of the raw material. He urges the saving of young timber resources.

At 1807 GMT Deputy Ignatov, of Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] continues the discussion on timber resources and the need for their proper utilization. He calls for the development of small-scale workshops in rural areas, and warns against the squandering of the nation's natural resources. In this context he makes critical remarks directed against Busygin whom he describes as a typical bureaucrat and "yesterday's minister".

The relay continues.

Busygin Rejected; Mikhalchenko Elected

LD1007230989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1813 GMT continues its recorded relay of the 10 July proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1813 GMT Deputy Pilnikov from Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], in turn takes up the question of the need to properly utilize timber resources.

At 1815 GMT Gorbachev intervenes to ask whether deputies wish to conclude the discussion on Busygin's candidacy, or whether another two deputies should be heard. He asks for a definite vote, which is then taken. Gorbachev announces that a majority has voted to continue the discussion.

At 1824 GMT Deputy Volodichev speaks about the inefficiencies and worn-out equipment widespread in Irkutsk Oblast. He speaks against Busygin's candidacy, saying he will not be capable of tackling such problems.

At 1837 GMT Deputy Neyelov from Tyumen speaks strongly against Busygin, saying that almost certainly, no one in the ministry has borne responsibility for the many social and economic shortcomings in the sector. He urges deputies to think very hard before approving Busygin.

At 1831 GMT Deputy Danilyuk from Khabarovsk says, that while the ministry is responsible for many of the ills, many of them can only be resolved by decisions made by the state.

At 1835 GMT Gorbachev again asks whether the discussion should be ended. Deputies vote to end the discussion, and a vote on whether to appoint Busygin is taken. In the first vote, the number of those who voted turned out to be more than the number of those registered for: 85; against: 272; abstentions: 43. Busygin's candidacy is rejected. At 1842 GMT Gorbachev then announces the candidacy of Mikhalchenko for the post of minister of installation and special construction work. Mikhalchenko begins to speak. He outlines the need for far-reaching reorganization in the work of the ministry, and says that the strength of the ministry lies in its staff, which had done good work in the provision of housing. He goes on to describe some of the measures taken within the ministry to keep staff informed in order to give them a broader understanding of the problems with which they deal.

At 1855 GMT Gorbachev asks Mikhalchenko if he has questions to which he can respond. Mikhalchenko responds to questions concerning how many foreign countries the ministry cooperates with.

At 1900 GMT Gorbachev calls for a vote on Mikhalchenko's candidacy. Against: 2. Abstentions: 16. He is appointed.

At 1903 GMT the announces provides a brief summary of the results of today's session of the Supreme Soviet. He says the session will continue tomorrow.

The relay concludes at 1904 GMT.

Approval of Biryukova, Gusev Nominations Noted
18001314 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On 29 June in Moscow in the meeting hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet under the chairmanship of Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet M.S. Gorbachev, the work of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continued.

Opening the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev gave an explanation of procedural issues. He said that certain deputies think that the discussion of the candidacies for the government are taking too long and many speakers are repeating themselves. The deputies are suggesting that candidacies for the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers be discussed in the way that has already developed in practice, and that the chairmen of the corresponding committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet make statements on the candidates for ministry posts. This does not rule out, of course, the possibility of asking questions of candidates, if necessary. They can be asked questions about important and pressing problems in order to clarify the candidate's position and the situation in the sphere in which he is working.

A proposal was made to appoint A.P. Biryukova as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for social development.

Questions and suggestions were addressed to her by deputies A.A. Pavlik, B.Ye. Golovnev, A.I. Dubko, S.E. Avtorkhanov, B.V. Korobkin, S.N. Demidov, and others.

The floor was given to A.P. Biryukova so she could respond.

Having discussed the preparation of the new law concerning pension support, the candidate expressed the opinion that it would be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet this year and presented for nationwide discussion. It was emphasized that it should be socially fair to all categories of pensioners regardless of the year they went on pension. She also agreed with the need to expand the list of occupations for which it would be possible to raise the ceiling on earnings for pensioners. It is possible to consider the question of including child care and education in the work tenure of women with large families.

The candidate was in favor of the development of a state program for improving the position of women that would affect all aspects of their life and she was in favor of rendering significant assistance to families with many children. She agreed with the need for the most rapid removal of women from the night shift in production, which will affect 3 million female workers. They should gradually be replaced by men during the course of technical retooling of the enterprises. It was reported that the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Trade Union Council], on instructions from the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Party Conference, will prepare a law that increases the length of annual leave, mainly for women. And the candidate emphasized that this makes it necessary for all of us to work better.

Hard work is needed to improve health protection. It is necessary to remove all the restrictions that prohibit departments and enterprises from building health resorts and preventive medical facilities with their own funds. It is necessary to take over the entire southern zone and the coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas for health resorts, and the trade unions also have their own programs. She expressed confidence in the efficacy of the efforts for equalizing the levels of service in various medical institutions. She went on to report that decisions had already been made concerning the creation in the country of a ramified network of clinics that operate according to the methods of the innovative physicians S.N. Fedorov, G.A. Ilizarov, and N.A. Kasin.

The chairman suggested determining the regulations for discussing candidates for the USSR Government.

The deputies made a decision to discuss candidates for 45 minutes.

Expressing his opinion, Deputy G.N. Kiselev noted her high business qualities. In his opinion she holds an active position in perestroyka, is attentive to the needs of the people, and is a person of her word.

B.I. Semukha discussed the problems of protection of the health of the population, which are part of her purview as a candidate for the high state post. In his opinion they were losing sight of the main issue: How people are given medical treatment in the country. He discussed in detail the provision of doing everything necessary for the public health system.

Deputy A.Ya. Meumyvakin noted with satisfaction that in the structure of the government there is to be an organ that will engage in social issues. It is good that the bureau for social development will be headed by A.P. Biryukova, who exhibits an informal attitude toward these problems. Having noted that the interests of disabled people are not unique, the speaker expressed certain desires to the government.

Taking advantage of the right of a consultative vote, People's Deputy R.L. Ten asked for support for the candidacy of A.P. Biryukova.

We hope, said Deputy Z.P. Pukhova, that the interesting, mobilizing program of actions proposed by A.P. Biryukova will help solve difficult problems related to the work and life of women. The main thing is to get women off the night shift as quickly as possible.

The speaker went on referring to the examples of the socialist countries, to discuss the need to give women leave to take care of children under 3 years of age, and other problems of women that require immediate solutions.

Deputy R.A. Ubaydullyeva expressed her support of the appointment of A.P. Biryukova to the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Deputy V.N. Stepanov focused attention on certain concrete issues having to do with material support for the public health system. In his opinion, there can be no such thing as trivia in this branch. In particular he touched on such vitally important problems as the production of syringes, which has many negative aspects.

The speaker discussed the shortage of junior medical personnel caused by low wages, night shifts, and so forth. He requested that A.P. Biryukova, in the event she is elected to the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delve deeply into the essence of the problems that have been raised and wished her success along this path.

The discussions were closed.

By a majority of votes the deputies appointed A.P. Biryukova deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

A discussion of procedural issues came next at the conference.

Its results were summed up by M.S. Gorbachev.

He supported the proposal of the deputies to establish a work policy whereby questions are prepared for the candidates in good time and are submitted to the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet and then to candidate members of the government. The candidates will have the opportunity to sort the questions into groups and think about them carefully.

And the second thing: Because the candidacies are carefully discussed in the committees and commissions and then brought up for consideration by the Supreme Soviet, it would be expedient during discussion at the session to focus major attention on concrete proposals and remarks and refrain from laudatory speeches.

A proposal was made to appoint V.K. Gusev as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for the chemical and timber complex.

The floor was given to V.K. Gusev so he could answer questions from the deputies. He briefly presented the basic directions of the program which provides for fulfillment of the tasks facing the country's chemical and timber complex.

He went on to say that recently there have been extraordinary difficulties associated with the aggravation of the ecological situation. Unless the problem of eliminating the harmful influence of production on the environment and people is solved, the future development of the branch and current work are practically impossible. This is why a primary direction in our program is significant improvement of the ecological situation on the basis of radical reconstruction of each enterprise of the complex using waste-free technologies.

It is necessary to satisfy the needs of the national economy and the broad market for basic products of the chemical and timber complex. Under the next 5-year plan, we intend to eliminate the shortage of chemical fibers, dyes, tires, furniture, medicines, construction plastics, and a large quantity of petroleum products. This will be carried out primarily on the basis of the introduction of new technological processes.

A few words about the crucial problems that have been mentioned in the speeches of the deputies. We think, the speaker said, that the problem of detergents will be eliminated in the third quarter of this year and then we intend not to allow this situation to be repeated. According to our calculations it will take 2 years to fully satisfy the demand of disposable syringes, and this year we will deliver no fewer than 500 million of them to public health institutions.

It is intended to improve methods of management, organization, and production and to introduce new economic forms on a large scale. Since 1988, all enterprises of the Ministry of the Petrochemical Industry have been working with an anticost indicator of net output, and beginning on 1 June of this year more than 60 percent of all the enterprises of the complex will change over to the second model of economic accountability.

The candidate emphasized that the Tekhnokhim complex has been in operation for over a year. The country's first state concern for the production and application of mineral fertilizers and means of plant protection is now being formed.

A great deal of attention is being devoted to the development of foreign economic activity. Under the 13th 5-Year Plan it is intended to create the complex's export potential in an amount of R10-15 billion a year, including no less than R5 billion a year of freely convertible currency.

The candidate pointed out that we are obliged to provide for fulfillment of all state programs for social progress but special attention will be devoted to settlements for timber procurement workers, which are now in bad condition.

Having presented his position on the problems of the most important national economic complex, V.K. Gusev answered questions from the deputies.

Summing up the results of the 3 years of his activity in the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, V.K. Gusev noted the complex's fulfillment of technical and economic plans and the program from chemicalization of the country's national economy, the high growth rates of labor productivity, and the radical modernization that has been started on the majority of productions. But, paradoxical as it may be, the shortage of many kinds of products is still increasing.

The candidate refuted the opinion about the expediency of combining the Ministry of the Timber Industry and the State Committee for Forestry, substantiating this by saying that 22 departments participate in timber procurement and it is necessary to have a supervisory, coordinating organ which will prevent criminal felling of the timber areas. Having agreed that it is necessary to sharply increase the production of paper, the "spiritual bread of the society," he presented a program for doubling the output of paper for the needs of the periodical press and book publishing through reconstruction of existing capacities.

V.K. Gusev agreed with the sharp criticism regarding cases of mismanagement in the system of the Ministry of the Timber Industry, explaining them by the low level of labor organization and transportation problems. He said that the 13th 5-Year Plan should be a watershed, industry should assimilate waste-free technology for floating and processing timber, and this will significantly increase the effectiveness of the branch.

A.I. Lukyanov, presiding, announced that the candidacy of V.K. Gusev was supported by less than half of the members of the commission participating in the discussions. The commission had remarks which needed to be brought to the attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The deputies proceeded to discuss the candidacy of V.K. Gusev.

A deputy who did not introduce himself reported that in the commissions there had been a serious discussion about the proposed candidacy. He pointed out that the complex headed by V.K. Gusev had not been working satisfactorily recently for providing the country's population with consumer goods. An especially large amount of concern was caused by the continuing pollution of the environment. A number of regions have appeared on the country's map that have suffered ecologically because of the activity of the chemical and timber complex. People were surprised by the inefficient policy, as he put it, of creating zones with excessive concentration of facilities of the chemical and petrochemical industry. The activity of the complex has led to a crisis situation in timber utilization.

We considered this candidacy very thoroughly, the speaker continued, and determined that Comrade Gusev has the competence and deep knowledge in the area of the chemical and timber complex. And the blame for the situation that has been created in the branch lies with its previous leaders.

The discussion of the proposed candidacy was continued by V.S. Shevchenko. Addressing the candidate she said that he would have to provide leadership for a complicated and troubled area. This is understandable, but one must also understand the deputies in the local areas who are constantly encountering complicated problems related to the ecological situation. People's deputies today do not simply represent one branch or another. They are state activists and they understand that the country needs goods. We must not take the path of closing down enterprises of the complex under consideration. But we must not risk the life and health of people either. In this connection the deputy called for V.K. Gusev to exhibit more character and exactingness with respect to the work of services under his jurisdiction.

Deputy Yu.K. Sharipov expressed concern about the condition of the ecological situation in Bashkiria. He reported that large enterprises of the chemical industry are concentrated in small areas in the autonomous republic. Nonetheless there is a tendency to create new ones. Comrade Gusev does a poor job of monitoring the measures earmarked for improving the situation.

Deputy V.D. Yudin stated that he could not vote for the candidacy of V.K. Gusev since he thinks that as the leader of the chemical and chemical-timber complex he was unable, in his view, to present a clear-cut and constructive program of action directed toward solving complicated problems.

Speaking about problems of ecology, Deputy M.G. Rakhimov emphasized that the country needs chemistry and it is necessary to continue to build enterprises of the branch. But here one should take into account that all regions of the country need only ecologically pure enterprises.

The speaker supported the candidacy of V.K. Gusev.

Deputy V.M. Vologzhin, who is chairman of the committee for questions of economic reform, reported that the committee participated in the discussion V.K. Gusev's candidacy. A strict and principled discussion was held. The idea was expressed that there is a need to support his actions directed toward solving ecological problems.

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic is among the regions where many problems caused by blunders in the development of the entire chemical complex have accumulated, said Deputy A.Kh. Vezirov. V.K. Gusev was also convinced of this when he visited the republic recently. While supporting his candidacy, the speaker requested that he and the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet take several aspects into account in the investment policy related to the development of the chemical complex. He called attention to the need to direct capital investments and scientific efforts toward insuring complete assimilation of capacities.

Sharing the concern of the previous speakers, Deputy V.I. Ogarok said that when considering this person's candidacy it was necessary to take potential possibilities into account fully.

The speaker shared his ideas concerning the state of the chemical and timber complex in Uzbekistan. He proposed supporting the candidacy under discussion.

The floor was turned over the N.I. Ryzhkov. He said that the discussion of V.K. Gusev's candidacy evoked heated arguments which showed the ambiguous attitude toward him as a specialist and as a leader of one of the most complicated complexes in our country. The discussion of the candidacy for the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers was approximately the same in the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers expressed his ideas about the proposed candidacy.

I think, emphasized N.I. Ryzhkov, that we must consider the problems of chemistry in the entire national economic complex. We understand that many problems have accumulated in this branch. They have been piling up for decades.

Regarding ecological problems, the head of the government noted that in certain cities there has been an over-concentration of chemical productions. In this connection he suggested that a serious approach be taken to a comprehensive consideration of all problems related to chemistry. Today, said N.I. Ryzhkov, it is not a question of V.K. Gusev, but one of chemistry and the development of the state's chemical production. Let us approach the consideration of these problems comprehensively because regardless of whom we place at the head of the complex, the problems will remain. V.K. Gusev will leave, but the problems will stay. We must form a program for chemicalization of our country, determine the levels we should reach, and decide what is necessary to do this. This will be a program of action and the USSR Council of Ministers must draw up this program and submit it to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Let us talk about chemistry, the speaker appealed. As concerns the candidacy of V.K. Gusev, I have not changed my mind. It is your problem, you solve it. But I think this is an honest, qualified, and a very good person who knows his business. I ask that you support his candidacy.

The vote was called for. By a majority of votes V.K. Gusev was appointed deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

A.I. Lukyanov informed the deputies of the procedure for further work of the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

With this he declared the joint meeting of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet closed.

The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue its work on 30 June.

During the second half of the day there were meetings of the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet of Nationalities. Questions related to plans and the organization of their further work were discussed.

Congress's Glasnost Process Viewed

18001302 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Jun 89 p 10

[Article by L. Grafova: "For Now, Beginners, But..."]

[Text] Two militiamen, having closely inspected my editorial office credentials, resolved to protect the deputies from an "unneeded" correspondent: "You are not on the list! Who have you set it up with?" Deputy Yaroshinskaya quickly came up with an answer: "With me!" We came together to the first meeting of the Committee for the Issues of Glasnost, Rights, and Appeals by Citizens, the very parliamentary organ which, one tends to believe, is called upon to defend the freedom and independence of the press. The episode turned out to be almost symbolic: The member of this committee, a journalist from Zhytomir (I happened to write in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA many times about the preelection conflicts around her) stood up... for my rights this time.

If only any of the tasks of this committee with a strangely long name could be carried out that easily! This is hardly so. The issues of glasnost concern all of us, but the deputies did not rush to this committee. For example, battles were fought over the ecological committee or Committee for the Defense and State Security Issues, but

here, at the "glasnost," it is quite peaceful. There were more than 50 journalists at the congress. Seven of them are on this committee, including four editors-in-chief of the journal NEVA, the newspapers TRUD, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, and VECHERNYAYA ODESSA, as well as eight party functionaries, of which two are first secretaries of rayon party committees. Chairman of the committee V.K. Foteyev is the first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush Oblast Committee; certainly, he will resign from his old job now. What about rayon committee secretaries? Editors-in-chief have already said that they would not resign their positions. Kolkhoz [collective farm] chairmen, of whom there are two, as well as sovkhoz [state farm] directors (also two) apparently will not leave their farms either. Could the lawyers help out? However, there are only three of them on the committee (this is, after all, a... rights committee!). Or workers? As always happens in our country, they are the backbone: 12 persons. There also is a colonel general from Moldavia on the committee. There is a representative of the clergy, a Sheik Al-Islam from Baku. There is a writer—A. Gelman. There are 40 people in all.

Certainly one's profession is not the point. As the congress has shown, a majority of our delegates thus far bear little resemblance to parliament members. Well, the skills and customs can be acquired. However, irrepressible conscience should be a mandatory (professional!) characteristic of a genuine representative of the people.

I know one of them, the gas and electric welder Belous from the city of Strezhevoy; he has been fighting for the rights of workers for 15 years now using his rayon newspaper. Incidentally, he was "allowed" to become a candidate as late as on his third try. He won over 13 opponents in the elections. When they were handing out questionnaires at the congress inquiring about who was going to improve his expertise at which seminars, he circled all the rubrics. However, as far as the experience of struggle for human rights is concerned, Nikolay Belous can teach others a thing or two.

Another worker, a metal worker from Pavlovskiy Posad, did the honest thing at the first meeting: He admitted that he would not be much use in this committee. Of course, economics lies closer to his heart. He surrendered his seat to IZVESTIYA special correspondent Anatoliy Yezhelev, who was "posted" to the Committee for the Issues of Economic Reform.

Unfortunately, during one week of meetings the committee did not work out a clear-cut program of what is to be done. To be sure, much time was taken up by "someone else's" business: Candidacies of union ministers of internal affairs and justice, the composition of the Supreme Court and the collegium of the union USSR Prosecutor's Office were discussed jointly with the Committee for Legislation, Rule of Law, and Legal Order... No, the lack of time to consider the program was not the problem. It is generally difficult for them. After all, the issues are such as rights and glasnost. What about the problem of complaints?

The old Supreme Soviet received half a million a year of them. While the congress was in session, as many as 133,000 telegrams and 142,000 letters arrived. They showed me the rooms where these mountains are held (in the presidium building at Kalinin Avenue 4/22). About 100,000 envelopes have not been opened yet, despite 77 employees of the apparatus working their fingers to the bone. There are piles of telegrams on government forms covering the tables. I took one at random. It was so familiar: "Have lost faith in justice objectivity of law lost peace..."

As we recall, the formation of this committee was announced after all other committees, sort of under "miscellaneous." In the draft of the apparatus, it was listed as the Committee for Appeals by Citizens. That is to say, a complaints office staffed with deputies? There was no mention of glasnost at all. At the end of the congress, it occurred to the deputies: How could that be? They intended to transfer glasnost... to the committee of economists. After the debate, this triad finally emerged, which included glasnost, rights, and complaints, bashfully referred to as "appeals by citizens," combined. Miscellaneous, is it?

We may observe an interesting regularity in the spontaneously emerging combination. Let us recall the violation of which rights is particularly frequently encountered and particularly painfully received at present.

So, we had the congress, an earth-shattering event for minds and souls. Still, respected deputies, the main events occurred not at your place, at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, but beyond its confines. Millions of people have undergone a catharsis. The country has become wiser and stern, and has definitely had a vote on every issue. A breakthrough toward freedom—this is what our congress was about. We have yet to grasp this. It may be premature to say that within 2 weeks we have turned from population into citizenry (the title of citizen presupposes the presence of guaranteed rights and freedoms). However, a majority of us have been cured of naivete and blindness.

"We will not put up with humiliation anymore!"—this is the poster I saw at a meeting in Luzhniki. These are not mere words. This is the spiritual resolution of many people. It will have to be paid for dearly. Recently, one famous deputy stated at a meeting of the club "Tribune of Moscow": "It has come to our attention that deputies returning from the congress are already being 'read the riot act' locally!" As you can see, even the immunity of a deputy is no guarantee from persecution.

Rejoicing over glasnost, we are prepared to mistake it for free speech, despite these being incommensurate notions, such as the light of a bulb and the light of day. If a journalist or a TV commentator confuses the two, it is not half bad; after all, we have a large audience of witnesses. However, what is one to do if the rights are affirmed in a one-on-one confrontation with one's superior, and for his constitutional right to criticism a person is deprived of an opportunity to live and work normally, and the advocacy of the press does not help (by now this is clear)? Now these dead-ended complaints will go to the deputies as "the last resort" rather than to the newspaper.

So, I suggest that the Glasnost Committee fish out the problem of criticism first from the ocean of mail. Certainly, the deputies will be faced with the same torment we journalists are: It is impossible to help everyone. However, they have the authority to help everyone at the same time by resuscitating the "dead" law on punishing the suppressors of criticism. I believe that the housing and social rights of citizens will be defended by other, relevant committees. In this instance, it would be proper: the glasnost committee protects both the rights of the press and the "grassroots" glasnost.

Committee Chairman Foteyev agreed: "Indeed, we should set a precedent of severe and, perhaps, even cruel punishment for violating civil rights, so that any minister would know: You don't start with our committee." (Incidentally, the chairman makes the impression of a democratic person. In our conversation, he stressed that, unlike many party functionaries, he was not afraid to speak at meetings.) During my conversation with Gelman, he said: "The committee should have the right to summon both the prosecutor general and the chairman of the Supreme Court—let them give a report on the situation with the defense of rights. We cannot immediately aim at half-measures. The goal of the committee is to ensure that in human rights we fully comply with the norms existing in the civilized world." "We should assume the responsibility for the propaganda of the Vienna accords," believes NOVOSTI Press Agency commentator Mikhail Poltoranin.

Also, they want to arrange for the publication of the newspaper NARODNYY DEPUTAT, and make sure there is a permanent TV channel for deputies. For starters, they want to publish in IZVESTIYA the already existing draft by a group of enthusiasts. The Law on Referendums. The Law on Work with Letters. The Law on the Freedom of Conscience. The Law on Archives. A group for forecasting social processes should be set up—why should they not transfer the the center headed by T.I. Zaslavskaya from the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] to the Supreme Soviet?

There is no end of business for them to handle. It is a pity that valuable time is sometimes wasted for naive considerations. "How are we to handle the avalanche of complaints?" However, why should the committee shoulder this excessive burden, when a qualified Department of Letters at the presidium already exists? "How are we to sort out what is criticism, and what is the exploitation of criticism?" After all, the press has already written the book on that! "Do you know that the sick people, maniacs frequently write letters!" Oh horror! I would not like to cede the letters ("feedback") into the hands of the apparatus. This means losing the confidence of the electorate. However, there is another danger lurking: "The apparatus still wants to turn us into a complaints bureau!" This concern is the main topic of meetings. Why does not even the Rights Committee understand that the rights are not given but taken?! By no means should the reformist ideas of the committee be allowed to drown in complaints. This is the very thing the electorate will not forgive.

Still, they have done serious work this week, incidentally, work on preventing complaints. After all, the discussion of candidacies of ministers, supreme court justices, and prosecutors was as unbiased as at the congress. However, there was no rush here, and no grumbling of the majority in the audience when sensitive questions-rebukes were asked. What is it with our deputies? Why are they picking fights like children? Are they capable of evaluating the qualification of respectable lawyers? Certainly not.

However, their role is different. It is to understand whether this ruler of the destinies is fair, and how sincere he is. So, when the question was asked "How frequently have you encountered the pressure of 'rule by the phone call from on high?'", and the prosecutor with more than a quarter of a century in tenure said cheerfully that he had not been aware of or known about such rule at all (and responded to other difficult questions along the same lines), they decided not to endorse him for the high position. They decided not to endorse many persons. Regardless of whether the Supreme Soviet takes the opinion of the committee into account or not, an invaluable object lesson has already been administered.

It is a pity that this lesson was not as public as the congress was. It was barely covered by the TV, and reports in the newspapers were brief. Could it be that the authorities are "discredited" since the deputies made certain people blush? Yet, it would have been a major consolation for those who have lost faith in justice (a great many of them) that there is real control by the people over the rulers of the destinies as well. This control will make it impossible to pit the law against conscience anymore!

For 2 weeks the TV set in every house attracted people as a ray of hope. The magic has come to an abrupt end. Disappointment has set in: So many impassioned words have been said; what about real deeds? But here it is: It turns out that the fire of the congress is not about to abate.

NKAO 'Relatively Calm'; Curfew Reduced 24 Jun

NC2706071189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was relatively calm last week. However, the rhythm of work has not yet been reestablished in production units, organizations, and institutions. The situation has not changed in [words indistinct]. The curfew in the NKAO was reduced on 24 June and is now from 0100 to 0500.

(?Various) demands were made at evening rallies in Stepanakert's Victory Square. NAKO workers carefully followed the last session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, which was broadcast on television [passage indistinct].

Armenian Council Discusses Spitak Work

NC3006110689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers has discussed the progress of the construction of houses and social centers in Spitak and formulated measures to speed up work in order to commission these buildings within the current year. The Armenian Government indicated that the performance of the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan and Estonia, the USSR Ministry of Gas Industry, and the republican construction organizations is unsatisfactory in implementing the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on measures to assist Armeniz in the restoration and reconstruction of the cities, towns, and rayon centers damaged by the earthquake. In accordance with this decision, R128 million worth of construction and assembly work is to be undertaken in Spitak during 1989-90. It is also planned to commission 200,000 square meters of residential space in the same period.

The republic's government has confirmed the master plan for Spitak until the year 2010. It has also ordered detailed feasibility studies of public buildings, houses, and communications networks to be completed by 30 August. The district in Spitak rebuilt by Italy is now ready. The town will also have a health center built by Norway, a school built by Czechoslovakia, and a rehabilitation center built by Finland.

New Publication Appears in NKAO

NC3006070189 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] The first issue of AMARAS bulletin, published by the Amaras charity organization of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO], has appeared. This new publication will appear once a month in Armenian. The first issue opens with an editorial addressed to the readers and includes reports on the constituent conference of the Amaras organization and its decisions, and the appeal of the NKAO party, soviet, and economic bodies to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, Council of Ministers, and the Armenian people in general.

The editor of the bulletin, Sergeyi Shakhverdiyan, told an ARMENPRES correspondent that the basic aim of Amaras is to inform the readers about the activities of this charity organization. There are many problems facing this organization, including financial and other kinds of assistance to the elderly, refugees, and earthquake victims, procurement of modern medical equipment for the health services, and the promotion of the Armenian language and national [word indistinct].

Lithuania's Sakalauskas on Autonomy Aspirations

AU3006114389 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 30 Jun 89 p 4

[Statement by Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Council of Ministers and deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, in an interview with Kurt Seinitz: "What Has To Be Changed in the USSR"—place and date not given]

[Text] "The economic 'autonomy' that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is propagating now aims at the following: So far, 89 percent of the Lithuanian economy has been centrally controlled by Moscow and only 11 percent by the Lithuanian Government. We want to reverse this. In 1990, 70 percent of the economy is to be under the republic's leadership. We believe that in this way it will be easier for us to solve our economic problems. The peasants' attachment to the soil is to be increased. Several forms, also private economy, are conceivable."

"We have already achieved much on a national level. We got back the old state symbols and the old hymn, and we have secured Lithuanian as a national language."

Leaving the USSR?

"Everything is possible. Today society can resolve everything. However, common sense has to be preserved. All republics are closely interrelated. If the possibility of total separation is now envisaged, this would lead to a total catastrophe. On the other hand, we cannot go on living like this. We have to increase economic performance, and we think that decentralization is required in the first place. However, on no account do we want to replace the Moscow bureaucrats with our own Lithuanian bureaucrats. You might laugh, but it was not so long ago since the bureaucrats told the peasants when they had to sow, and so on. We are in favor of a USSR in the spirit of Lenin. Permit me to remind you of the text of the USSR's national anthem, in which a 'union of free republics' is mentioned. We envisage a pact of treaties, a new balance between the union and the republics, and

that, for example, the union continues to have certain responsibilities, such as defense, while others are ceded to the republics. We are for the USSR, but for a new quality of this union."

Hitler-Stalin Pact

"As you know, the historical material is being thoroughly examined at present, and we expect the union to make a statement in principle on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the secret supplementary protocols."

Lithuanian Paleckis on Party's Role

LD2606105189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] Today, the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party held a plenum of the burning issue of (?today). The plenum discussed the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party. For almost a whole year Lithuanian communists are leaving the ranks of their party. The main reason is that the party has been losing its prestige among the wide sections of population. Deep roots of this phenomenon are complicated indeed, and they go back to the prewar years when Lithuania was incorporated by the USSR. The status of the Lithuanian Communist Party has never been clear from the very beginning, so only the name of the Lithuanian Communist Party was left, while in actual fact it has always been a constituent part of the CPSU. So the Lithuanian Party lost its independence.

On the eve of the plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party, I approached Justas Paleckis, head of the ideology sector at the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and asked him to outline the Central Committee's stand on the issue.

[Begin Paleckis recording in Lithuanian, fading into English translation] The status of the Lithuanian Communist Party is the greatest problem the party faces today. The thing is that the weight of this important question had been growing since the summer of 1988, so this year demands were voiced to hold a special party conference or extraordinary congress. The intellectuals of Lithuania have been pressing the Central Committee to make a decisive step in this direction. For almost a year now we are working in the conditions of such an autonomy. At present we are independently preparing and declaring documents on the most burning issues, including the national issue, and economic changes in Lithuania. Our main goal is to express positive ideas of those Party circles who are for national and cultural rebirth. Yet there are forces who are for the old quarter, but we favour cooperation, especially in the field of ideology. Discussions and friendly polemics can prompt the creation of many useful things. The same applies to the appearance of various political forces in the society. The Communist Party cannot monopolize political life. If the Communist Party wins over the other parties in the political struggle in the conditions of democracy, then it is right, otherwise it is not correct. Today, all political forces should do their utmost to maintain stability in our fast changing life.

Tolerance is lacking in our life. The phenomenon of Stalinism is still influencing us. If the other side thinks differently, it must be destroyed. This is the lack of culture in general, and that of political and democratic in particular. So the Communist Party should become the example for other political forces to follow in this particular field. [end recording]

[Announcer] Justas Paleckis ended his long answer to my first question, but I somehow wanted to hear something else which would remind me of more human relationship. That is why I asked him to explain the inscription on the building of the Central Committee, which read: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Lower were the words: The Communist Party of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. I personally could not put these two titles together.

Justas Paleckis agrees that the two did not match one another. He says that the inscriptions would be changed.

Then I wondered whether the Communist Party of the USSR would remain as such. I suggested an idea, that there should be the Communist Party of Russia, instead.

Justas Paleckis declares that in his personal point of view there should be the Communist Party of Russia, and, more, there should be the national rebirth of Russian [as heard], which should be constructive and not corrective.

Speaking about prospects, Justas Paleckis expressed the view that the parties should form their relations as equal partners. Looking back at the past, Moscow ruled all communist forces within the USSR, so what about future relations if, say, there are 15 independent Communist Parties in the country?

Justas Paleckis stresses that nobody knows about future relations, but a dialogue should be the form of relationship. There shouldn't be one party's interference into the other party's affairs.

And what about this? Let's say the Lithuanian Communist Party and Lithuania as a state become independent, but what will be the first?

In response to my question Justas Paleckis remarked that the restoration of the Lithuanian Communist Party was feasible in the nearest future, and this process was a big plus on the road toward Lithuania's independence.

Day One of June Lithuanian Komsomol Congress

PM2206133389 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 3 Jun 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "The 22d Congress of the Lithuanian Lenin Communist Youth League"]

[Text] Vilnius, 2 Jun—Today the 22d Congress of the Lithuanian Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] opened at the Academy Theater of Opera and Ballet. It is being attended by 842 deputies representing the more than 400,000-strong membership of the republican Komsomol organization.

The congress is being attended by Vitautas Astrauskas, Valerionas Baltrunas, Vladimir Berezov, Yuozas Bernatavichus, Stanislovas Gedraytis, Bronislovas Zaykauskas, Yonas Lukauskas, Lenginas Maksimovas, Vladislovas Mikuchyauskas, Alfonsas Maldonis, and Yuozas Sheris, deputy chairmen of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, chiefs of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee departments, a group of first secretaries of city and rayon party committees, Komsomol veterans, and leaders of republic ministries and departments.

Vladimir Zyukin, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, Vyacheslav Svetlichnyy, deputy chief of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Komsomol Organizations Department, and secretaries of union republic Komsomol organization Central Committees have arrived to attend the 22d Congress of the Lithuanian Komsomol.

The Congress was opened by Alfonsas Matsaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee.

The working organs of the congress—a secretariat, a tellers commission, an editorial commission, and a credentials commission were elected.

The congress agenda was approved:

1. Report of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee;

2. Report of the Lithuanian Komsomol Auditing Commission;

3. The status of the Lithuanian Komsomol;

4. The Statutes and Program of the Lihuanian Komsomol;

5. Formation of the leading organs of republic Komsomol organizations.

The congress was declared open. The anthem of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was played.

The review report of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee was delivered by Alfonsas Matsaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee.

The congress sent a cable to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in which it expressed support for the stances of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian delegations at the congress and demanded that the 1939 treaties between the USSR and Germany and the secret protocols to them be denounced.

The report of the Lithuanian Komsomol Auditing Commission was read out by Chairman Rima Norkaytene.

The report of the Credentials Commission was delivered by Commission Chairman Grigoriy Boravskiy.

Alvidas Medalinskas, chairman of the Coordinating Council of Lithuanian Youth Organizations, read out an address to the congress from these organizations.

The congress continues.

Belorussian People's Front's Leaders View Goals

LD2606140389 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Minsk June 26 TASS—Mustering grassroots support for radical change in society, making the reform process irreversible and awakening people's ethnic awareness are among the chief goals of a newly-established Belorussian People's Front, Vozrozhdeniye (Rebirth).

The movement's constituent congress, attended by 400 elected delegates from initiative groups all over this Soviet republic, adopted an action programme, charter and a number of resolutions, urging constructive dialogue with the communist party and local governing councils.

Aleksandr Zhuravlev, a member of the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies who is also a leading member of the popular front, says that there are many problems in Belorussia, which can be tackled only by joint effort.

This is why it is planned to assist the population in areas affected by fallout from the Chernobyl nuclear accident and help the Belorussian Government work out an optimum variant of regional cost-accounting.

The front's leadership includes 55 people, including well-known scientists, authors, cultural personalities, teachers, doctors and factory workers.

Apart from economist Zhuravlev, the movement's leading members include two more people's deputies—writer Vasil Bykov and enginer Sergey Gabrusev.

Archaeologist Zenon Poznyak, who holds the equivalent of an MS degree in history, was elected the front's chairman.

Leningrad People's Front Holds Founding Congress
PM3006130289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 26, 25 Jun 89 p 2

["M. Ch." report: "Popular Front Congress"]

[Text] On June 17-18, Leningrad's Popular Front [LPF] held its constituent Congress, attended by 680 delegates elected from over 100 different unofficial pressure groups at factories, offices and institutions in the city and region.

The Congress adopted the rules of LPF. Its Manifesto itemized the tasks of the new mass organization, and adopted several resolutions. In keeping with the Rules, a coordination Council (15 members were elected at the congress, 45 others are to be delegated by grass-roots organizations) was put at the head of the Popular Front. Among those elected at the congress are M. Salye, D. Sc. (Geology and Mineralogy); N. Arzhannikov, former militia officer; S. Nesterov, Cand. Sc. (Engineering); M. Chulaki, man of letters; Yu. Andreyev, topical writer; N. Kornev, biophysicist; G. Bogomolov, milling-machine operator; and M. Makarevich, housewife.

Zaykov, Razumovskiy Attend Moscow Gorkom Plenum
PM2906084989 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed report under general heading "To Advance Restructuring by Relying on Political Methods of Leadership": "Plenum of Moscow CPSU City Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the Moscow CPSU City Committee [gorkom] was held on 21 June. It examined the question of the city party organization's work in present-day conditions.

Preparatory work for the plenum was done with active participation by members of elected party organs, gorkom commissions, and the aktiv of primary party organizations. Account was taken of the results of sociological studies carried out in the capital's party organizations and labor collectives. Over the last few weeks, Moscow newspapers and the city's television and radio programs provided a forum for a broad discussion of pressing questions of party life, the mastery of new methods of work, and the enhancement of Communists' vanguard role in society. Information on the questions under discussion was prepared in advance and distributed among plenum participants.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, delivered a report at the plenum.

The following spoke during the debate on the report: V.N. Senkov, first secretary of Leninskiy CPSU Rayon Committee [raykom]; A.S. Ignatyev, party committee secretary at the electrical engineering plant named for Vladimir Ilich; A.M. Bryachikhin, first secretary of Stavropolskiy CPSU Raykom; L.I. Gracheva, leader of a plasterers' team at the No. 8 "Mosotdelstroy" Trust; G.V. Badeyeva, laboratory chief at the Academy for the National Economy; I.I. Melnikov, party committee secretary at the Moscow State University named for M.V. Lomonosov; F.F. Kuznetsov, director of the World Literature Institute named for A.M. Gorkiy; Ye.A. Panteleyev, first secretary of Kuybyshevskiy CPSU Raykom; T.V. Gracheva, electrical installation worker at "Avangard" Machine Building Plant; N.M. Andreyanova, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.V. Klyuyev, general director of the "Spektr" Science and Production Association; V.P. Lysenko, editor of the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA; A.S. Samsonov, director of the No. 1 Clock and Watch Plant named after S.M. Kirov; V.S. Afanasyev, first secretary of Pervomayskiy CPSU Raykom; V.T. Saykin, chairman of Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee [gorispolkom]; A.A. Kudryavtsev, senior precinct inspector at the 21st Militia Division; V.N. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School; V.N. Lutsenko, chairman of Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee; S.V. Antipov, party committee secretary at the Nuclear Power Institute named for I.V. Kurchatov; V.P. Shantsev, first secretary of Perovskiy Raykom; V.A. Korovin, chief of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Socioeconomic Department; A.S. Yeliseyev, rector of the Moscow Higher Technical School named for N.E. Bauman; G.N. Zamytskaya, chairman of the State Trade and Consumer Cooperatives Workers' Union Central Committee; G.I. Kutnyakov, first secretary of Frunzenskiy Raykom; I.M. Golovkov, deputy chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom; Ye.K. Papugin, assistant foreman at the "Trekhgornaya Manufaktura" Combine; V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

L.N. Zaykov delivered a closing speech.

A detailed resolution was adopted on the question under discussion. It will be published in the press.

The plenum took note of a report by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau on progress in following up on critical remarks made at the 27th Moscow City Party Organization Conference, and it approved regulations on Moscow CPSU Gorkom commissions.

The plenum confirmed the appointment of V.G. Chubarov as administrator of affairs of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the Moscow Oblast party committee.

G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

Zaykov Comments on Plenum

18001300 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Jun 89 p 2

[TASS report: "To Be the Vanguard"]

[Text] The work of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom [city committee] session that took place on 21 June was at the center of attention of the meeting between Moscow journalists and L.N. Zaykov, Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom. The meeting took place on 26 June at the press center of the party's Moscow City Committee.

The secretaries of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom participated in the meeting. This is already the second press conference held as a new form of party work that has appeared as the result of the development of glasnost and democratization of life within the party.

Reporting on the work of the plenum, L.N. Zaykov emphasized that the work of the Moscow city party organization under modern conditions was discussed, and paths toward increasing its authority and efficacy were planned. The idea was expressed for the need to strengthen party ranks, to eliminate dead weight, and to apply broadly to the work new approaches related to the improvement of Muscovites' real life. It was emphasized that the city's current sociopolitical situation is significantly complicated by serious difficulties in the economy, and the correct solution to the problems of the city's socioeconomic development. Life is all the more demandingly dictating the need to more persistently master the political methods of leadership.

The journalists received answers to questions on the work of the capital's party organization under new conditions, including questions of concrete paths to accelerate the pace of democratic transformation, expand glasnost, and prepare for elections in the local soviets.

Great attention was paid at the meeting to the resolution of the most important sociopolitical, economic, and everyday social, as well as legal problems, which trouble the millions of city residents.

Zaykov Meets Moscow Journalists 26 Jun

LD2606154189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Zaykov—Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Moscow gorkom—met today with Moscow journalists. Participating in the meeting were the secretaries of Moscow gorkom. This was the second news conference—a new form of party work that has appeared as a result of the developing of glasnost and democratization of internal party life.

Comrade Zaykov briefed those present on the work of the Moscow gorkom plenum that took place on 21 June. The journalists received answers to questions about the work of the capital's party organization under the new conditions.

Latvian Trade Unions Publish New Weekly

LD2506110489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] The first issue of the Latvian republican council of trade unions publication entitled ARODS, meaning profession, has been published. The weekly, published in both Latvian and Russian, will help to defend more actively the interests of the working people, to fight for the fulfilment of the housing plan, and to eliminate shortcomings in everyday life.

Moldavia Issues Resolution on Bessarabians' Fate

LD2606135389 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Kishinev June 26 TASS—The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Moldavia has adopted a resolution "On the fate of the Communist Organisation of Bessarabia (KOB) and its members following the territory's reunion with the Soviet motherland in June 1940".

The resolution, published in the republican press on Sunday, points out that the KOB, which was founded in 1919 and which until August 1922 functioned within the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and later on temporarily within the Communist Party of Romania, and worked in the deep underground, acted as the organiser of the Bessarabian working people's struggle for national and social emancipation.

The Bessarabian communists showed a high political activity on the June days of 1940 when Bessarabia was peacefully freed and reunited with the Soviet motherland.

The course of events indicated that the KOB was to return to the ranks of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks). However, under the conditions of the Stalin personality cult, the KOB was not recognised as a party unit.

Moreover, a large group of former [words indistinct] who joined the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) during the war years and immediately after it, were stripped of party membership at the beginning of the 1950s.

It shall be reckoned, the resolution goes on, that in June 1940 an injustice which became the most flagrant violation of the leninist norms of party life was done to the KOB which came out of the underground.

The resolution also reaffirms the need to rehabilitate all communists who fell victim to the mass repressions of the 1930-40s.

Estonian Leader on New Party Formation
PM2906115689 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 23 Jun 89 p 12

[Report on interview with Estonian Democratic Workers Party founder Vallo Saatpalu by Kaa Eneberg in Stockholm on 22 June: "Estonians Form New Party"]

[Text] "We saw forming a social democratic party alongside the Communist Party in Estonia and starting to cooperate with other fraternal parties as a viable route for working politically. We finally have to turn all the past year's proud declarations on openness and independence into concrete action."

So said Vello Saatpalu, a 54-year-old engineer and member of the Estonian People's Front, who is spearheading the formation of a purely social democratic party in the Soviet Republic of Estonia.

He and two younger Estonians, journalist Tonis Avikson and architect Ignar Fjuk, have been among the informal guests of the Socialist International. However, the Socialist International took the roundabout route of having them invited by the labor movement peace forum and its chairman Gunnar Lassinanti, who has played host to them and to a number of other East European delegations, who for formal reasons could not be invited as official guests. However, the Communist parties of several East bloc countries, including the Soviet Union, are on the official guest list.

Vello Saatpalu and his delegation spent some hectic days in Stockholm and traveled home last night with their job more than well done. Even though there has not yet been formal recognition of their party back home in Estonia, they feel that they have achieved the recognition of important social democratic parties.

In the interview in a Folkets Hus which was slowly emptying yesterday afternoon, Vello Saatpalu was tired but happy to report his talks both with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and Socialist International Chairman Willy Brandt—talks which had given him strength and determination.

He said that in addition to Sweden, Finnish Eduskunta speaker Kalevi Sorsa, a veteran in the context of the Socialist International, and his successor in the post of foreign minister and party chairman, Pertti Paasio, were particularly important contacts for the Estonians and other Balts. His talks with them had been lively.

The delegation views the final declaration from the Socialist International congress which mentions the Baltic states and their struggle for self-determination, democracy, and economic and ecological recovery as strong support for the democratic trend. In the declaration, the socialist leaders promise to maintain a dialogue not only with governments, but also with opposition parties and new political forces, including the new People's Fronts.

Socialist International Chairman Willy Brandt also promised that developments in Eastern Europe and the Baltic region in the future will be a priority question for the International.

The new Estonian party has chosen to call itself the Democratic Workers Party—Eesti Demokraatlik Tooerakond. The name has links with the old workers party from the period of independence and its ideas.

All the Estonian delegates have links with the People's Front. Saatpalu is one of its founders and all three are members of its ruling board. Ignar Fjuk is also a deputy in the Estonian delegation to the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies. The new party gives more prominence than does the People's Front to independence as the ultimate goal—something about which the People's Front has been cautious.

One of the People's Front's problems is its poor relations with the Russian minority, which has formed a counterfront. Saatpalu, however, has seen an opportunity of establishing a dialogue with the Russians through the small social democratic groups which the new party has throughout the country. He said that even the Russians, encouraged by glasnost, have begun to form their own social democratic groups that are quite simply opposition parties to the official Communist Party. Saatpalu said that he sees an opening for dialogue between these Estonian and Russian groups.

Saatpalu views the situation in Estonia and the Baltic region at present as a general sobering-up period after the first emotionally charged outpourings of freedom. He pointed out that what is needed now is solid and realistic political work.

"We have not even seen the new and much discussed electoral law yet. All that has been said is that the national parliamentary elections will be held this fall, but we do not know any further details."

With a realistic approach he thinks that his own workers party's view of the Estonians' future position [sentence as published].

"We naturally see independence and neutrality as the absolute ultimate goal, but the road must first go via a more independent position within the Soviet state apparatus. That is the difference between us and the Independence Party, which attracted impatient young supporters by demanding immediate independence."

So far the workers party has only a small number of formal members. The intention is to wait until the party is formally registered before allowing it to become any bigger.

The impatience in the Baltic region also has been directed against Finland's and Sweden's hesitant responses to the Balts' demands for recognition. Vello Saatpalu nodded in agreement, but said that his talks with both his Swedish hosts and the Finns have given him a greater insight into the problems. The "reformist" road to increased contacts which the two countries have chosen is perhaps the best, he said.

Saatpalu said spontaneously that the Baltic question is something that the Soviet Union must resolve soon. Impatience is great, but so is the uncertainty about what will happen in the future.

"The Soviet economy has gigantic problems that have to be solved. It is unclear how much power Mikhail Gorbachev really has. What will happen to the Army when the major troop reductions that have been promised begin?"

Gorbachev Greets Magnitogorsk Residents

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[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev sent greetings to the working people and all the inhabitants of Magnitogorsk in connection with the 60th anniversary of the city's foundation.

Magnitogorsk, which is well known throughout the country for its glorious labor traditions, is 60 years old this June. Several generations of the people of Magnitogorsk have labored selflessly for the benefit of the homeland. During the testing period of war, the weapons of victory were forged at the city's blast furnaces and rolling mills. After the war, the city made a significant contribution to rebuilding the country's industrial potential, and today the working people of Magnitogorsk are in the vanguard of the revolutionary restructuring, and with true persistence, typical of the people of the Urals, are tackling tasks for the development of the economy, and the all-around renewal of Soviet society and its advancement along the path of democracy and social progress.

I wish you, dear people of Magnitogorsk, happiness, prosperity and further success in your work, Comrade Gorbachev's greetings message says.

Article Details Problems in Novyy Uzen

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[Article and roundup of material from a town meeting in Novyy Uzen, written and prepared by Igor Rodionov and R. Narsyrov: "KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA: Novyy Uzen: the Social Problems of Small Cities"]

[Text]

"The City in the Steppe" by Igor Rodionon

Novyy Uzen—They say that first impressions are the strongest. At least I remember the smallest details of my first encounter with Novyy Uzen a decade and a half ago. I refused, for example, to believe a local journalist, Yuriy Kononenko, who had just come to the newspaper direct from a bore well that it was a new "five-story job." And that the house opposite had only just been commissioned. And that people had only just moved into the house next door.

The facades of the new houses and lodges were so abundantly "pasted over" with veneer from packing boxes, old pieces of cloth and roofing felt that the impression was created that somehow you were not in a new quarter of the city but somewhere in a godforsaken Harlem. It turned that that there was nothing surprising about this: Dust storms raged through the city, and people protected themselves from them however they might, placing their own "patches" over the architects' mistakes. I remember that in those years one of the central newspapers called Novyy Uzen one of the most absurd cities in the country. In fact, the city was "set down" in the middle of the steppe. They made it open to all the winds and storms. In the daytime, vehicles used to drive with their headlights on: the dust storms were so "dense." The inhabitants of Novyy Uzen, people with a sense of humor, used to call the city's top cafe "The Dust Cloak."

Then the climate started to change and people started to plant trees and arrange some amenities for their life in the city, and my eyes became accustomed to the "absurdity of the city," the more so since Novyy Uzen quietly acquired the status of an "oil capital." In fact, at that time about half of all the oil recovered in Kazakhstan came precisely from the Uzen deposit. But speaking candidly, I think that the sense of envy among the people of Novyy Uzen remained for the then oblast center at Mangyshlak-Shevchenko. No, it was not a matter of two "capitals" but of the fact that the people of Shevchenko had the sea. And the absurdity also lay in the fact that 70 kilometers from Novyy Uzen itself the sea also lapped the shore, and it was warmer than the shore at Shevchenko and there were no problems about planning a city for the oil workers there.

But during the last seven or eight years, the face of the city has, as they say, altered sharply. For the first 20 years, the city, like a person, had "the face that nature gave it," and then it makes its own. Gorkom [city party committee] First Secretary Nurlikhan Bekbosynov led this struggle "to do it themselves." The official and unofficial leader of the townspeople, he has done so much that now you would not know Novyy Uzen. Take my word for it! There is no opportunity to list on a "visitor's map" everything that has been done. Let me

say just one thing: finally a road has been "driven through" to the sea, where the people of Novyy Uzen are now building an entire leisure complex for the oil workers and their children.

Bekbosynov himself has scaled the heights—he has become the general director of Mangyshlakneft Production Association. He was recently elected to the post of people's deputy. His cares have increased a hundredfold but I think that Novyy Uzen occupies a special place in Bekbosynov's destiny. And as before, there are problems enough. Some are old: they should have been pensioned off. Others are new. And the city is not what it was. Novyy Uzen started off with 15,000 inhabitants, now there are almost four times as many—56,000. And the demands being made by the inhabitants of the city have become more stringent and are oriented on modern comforts, and there are no references to the "city in the steppe." This is also understandable. And natural. Add to this the fact that the city is a multinational one. Some 75 nationalities live in it. After the Kazakhs and the Russians, for example, are the Lezgins. In general originating from Dagestan, they make up about 16 percent of the city's population. And this is the specific nature of the problems. Each people has its own customs and traditions, its own psychology and tenor of life. Due consideration must be given to this.

For example, in Novyy Uzen there are many families with large numbers of children, but most often the people from Alma-Ata planning the apartments make provision for three-room apartments. Or, for example, employment for the population in the city is the problem of all problems. Something is being done to solve this problem. But not much. The republic ministries have an idea to take a more careful look at how to make better use of the local manpower. I remember how they issued personal invitations for ministry representatives to a town meeting of the people of Novyy Uzen. This invitation from KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA was eagerly accepted in the ministries of local industry and grain products, but the republic Ministry of Light Industry did not respond to the request, even though there was talk on the subject with the first deputy minister.

But the meeting with the ministry representatives did not, I think, produce very much. Let me cite just one episode. It took half an hour of "sitting on one's seat" for the representative of the Ministry of Grain Products to resolve the question of the possibility of increasing the local assortment of "bakery products" by just four items.

They are waiting impatiently in Novyy Uzen for the minister of health and a representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In both cases the people of Novyy Uzen talked about this a great deal at the meeting and the talk turned to problems in dealing with disease and the treatment of tuberculosis. This is a particularly acute problem in the city, and we hope that in the very near future its inhabitants will "make the business acquaintance" of representatives of the republic Ministry of Health, and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Inhabitants of the city put forward many claims at the meeting. Some of them were, I would say, of an all-union nature, that is, their resolution depends on all-union ministries and departments. It is probably time to sit round a table with representatives of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry and the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises in order to discuss and resolve the problems of West Kazakhstan, in particular the Guryev Obkom, and an even more particular issue—the Novyy Uzen question.

For example, construction has become the talk of the town for the people of Novyy Uzen since the headquarters of the Mangyshlakneftegazstroy Trust leadership moved from Novyy Uzen to Shevchenko. Immediately after that, to judge from the talk at the meeting, the people of Novyy Uzen assumed the role of poor relatives. The trust leaders are sometimes reluctant to respect their requests. At every step I heard about the motives for the trust's refusal to build, when it said that it was not the kind of work that it does. In fact, they said that the trust is looking for "profitable projects" in Novyy Uzen. And right there before my very eyes there was a boiler house under construction. The inhabitants do not have enough heat. The boiler house is designed to provide heat for only half the number of Novyy Uzen inhabitants that there actually are. And so each year they patch up the holes and waste nervous energy and time trying to find boilers and pipes and working hands to plug the gap on this "thread of life." To solve the problem for the season. Perhaps the boiler house built by the trust is unsuitable but the townsfolk must have it. What is to be done? How long can they wait? And things are no better with the schools. They are short of three schools in the city, and kindergartens. Using local construction resources they cannot solve the problem. This means that a solution must be found. To judge from the calculations done by the oil workers the trust construction workers have the resources to solve Novyy Uzen's construction problems. To judge from the calculations done by the trust there is no such opportunity. And what about those on the housing waiting list? In Uzen there are more than 4,500.

And the water problems in the city. They have existed for more than a decade. And food problems. Even though my colleague made the rounds of the food stores (a picture is worth a thousand words), and before attending the Uzen town meeting had attended other similar meetings in Turkestan and Ushtobe, and was "agreeably surprised at the "local assortment." He was particularly surprised to see Moldavian jam made from rose leaves just sitting there in the stores. In Novyy Uzen, perhaps, the stores are richer than in Turkestan or Ushtobe. For today we cannot take comfort in thinking that things are

worse somewhere else. Everything must be good everywhere. That is probably why at the town meeting the people of Novyy Uzen also talked more about the thorns of the roses than about rose jam.

"On Seven Winds" Prepared by R. Narysov

Novyy Uzen city, Guryev Oblast—Novyy Uzen is a city at a deposit. Such satellite towns are doomed right from the start to be linked with a certain geographical orbit, and as often happens in such situations, are very inconvenient. In this sense Novyy Uzen is no exception. Working here is convenient: the residential quarter is alongside the industrial sector. But what about living here? The city stands in a plain, open to all the winds and sandstorms. Above is the white sun of the desert, beneath one's feet a thin layer of light soil and then a stratum of rock many meters thick. The rocks must be removed even to plant a simple tree. Putting down roots on Mangyshlak is difficult both for a tree and for a man.

Hereabouts everything outside the peninsula is referred to briefly but encompassingly as "the big land." People travel into the "big land" not only for their vacations, for a session, for medical treatment, but also simply to feel the cool of a forest. There in the "big land" the people of Novyy Uzen have relatives and friends, their own native places. Their hearts and their souls are there. Here there is work and the material comfort associated with it. How to combine all this, or at least suppress and dampen the unsettled feeling in a person? This is not just a living problem but also a social problem.

Initially, in the Sixties when the city was just being built, they used to believe that there would be no problems if people were paid a good wage. So they paid them a good wage. But the mirage of the "long ruble" was not long-lived. Population growth was intensive, then over time it slowed down, and then started to decline. The personnel pouring in, and pouring out, brought an atmosphere of feverishness to the oil fields and the rate of recovery from the deposit began to fall off. The paradox of the situation was that a city providing foreign exchange oil dollars for the treasury still did not know how to stand on its own two feet but was falling into neglect.

Fortunately for Novyy Uzen at that time the calm person of N.U. Bekbosynov was appointed to the post of party gorkom first secretary. He was able to look into the existing situation, and long before April 1985 he spent a long time looking into things and outlined a realistic work program for himself and for the party committee apparatus, and to move its implementation through the labor collectives. The main thrust was on developing the fairly well neglected social sphere, improving people's lives, and creating more or less normal conditions for them both at home and at work. Metaphorically speaking, the horse was placed in front of the cart instead of behind it. And having taken the load of the social cart, the horse also dragged another load along with it, namely, the plan indicators. After paying off their debt, the people of Novyy Uzen started to work for profit, and along with the profit they picked up speed. If the broken diagram for oil recovery could be made to compare with the city's broken "sense of social well-being" perhaps they would match. The initial period was one of upsurge, of oil "gushers" in their hands, and the lack of living amenities was compensated by the "long rubles." The second phase was also one of "long rubles" but living in huts was beginning to pall, the "gushers" were drying up and had to be pumped, capital investments in the oil fields were growing, and recovery from the seams was falling, and at the same time yield on capital was falling. The problem of teenage children was becoming acute. They wanted not simply to stay at the school squeezed somehow into the next hut, but to go to classrooms "with diversions" and dress fashionably, and in general be "as good as other people." And where did the rubles go, even the "long" ones? For hosiery. And so the ranks of the oil workers began to thin, and it was not only the drifters who were leaving but cadre workers, those who, not without reason, they called the "gold fund."

The course toward stabilizing, and then increasing oil recovery was long. They started to implement a comprehensive program of geological and technical measures to improve the operation of the boreholes, not just directly but also through orders for new apartments, new school classrooms, their own rooms for relaxation, their own pioneer camps at the seashore. A petroleum tekhnikum opened in the city, along with a medical school and an agricultural vocational and technical school. In the squares and the park they drilled fountains. A small thing? But the fountain became the favorite, most popular meeting place, and the families gathered there. So it turned out that the world is not large enough even for the "long" ruble.

Simply by being switched on, the fountains altered the microclimate on the little area around themselves; they were switched on and actively implemented the program for developing the city's social infrastructure and they altered its entire microclimate. People could see that concern for them was not just said, with words, but in deeds. Statements about "voluntary resignation" soon stopped. Now it was not the work looking for people, but the people looking for work. There were virtually no empty work places.

Today the main statistics for the city are as follows (as of 1 January 1989): population 56,200, including 21,200 ablebodied people. Housing inventory 865,700 square meters. Schools 10; kindergartens and creches 27; medical treatment centers 9; libraries 29; sports halls 13; club premises and cinemas 8. Last year alone, 42,300 square meters of housing were commissioned, 1,100 people moved into new apartments, and two kindergartens, a school for 1,178 students, and a standard pioneer camp were built. It would be wrong to say that the territory has been developed slowly. But its potential is enormous. Thus, last year alone 8.8 million tons of oil and gas

condensate and 2.2 billion cubic meters of gas were recovered. Output worth R298.8 million was produced and R120.3 million of profit were made. Under the conditions of the economic reform this potential for development in the territory could be much greater. In fact this was the subject of conversation at the meeting organized by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA within the framework of its regular rubric "The Social Problem of Small Cities."

And the conversation here started with a problem that is extremely acute. The city, which quite recently was experiencing a manpower shortage, now has a surplus. About 1,500 people in Novyy Uzen do not have work. They are mainly young people, predominantly young women, but to be even more accurate, they are young Kazakh women. In order to blunt the acuteness of the problem somewhat it was decided to build a sewing factory with 1,100 work places. The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers determined the time period for the factory to go on line—August 1988—and four prefabricated modules were allocated for the production premises. But as far as one can see the factory will not be commissioned this August either because everything has been crushed under the bureaucratic wheel.

A. Ryspayev, deputy director for construction

The factory in Novyy Uzen will be built as a branch of a head enterprise located (where do you think) in Kokchetav. Financing for the equipment will come from it. But the supplier is distrustful if he must present in Kokchetav the invoice for freight delivered to Novyy Uzen. For this reason the republic Gossnab Kazmashkomplekt is holding up delivery of air conditioning and ventilation equipment and cable gear. The failure of the suppliers is interfering with the work of the construction and assembly workers. The Ministry of Light Industry is also causing difficulties: one of the modules sent does not fit and it is virtually impossible to assemble it, and the premises for the shops could have been delivered on a turnkey basis but the machine tools and equipment promised for them have not materialized. The status of the branch factory is putting the people of Novyy Uzen in the position of poor relatives: even the finished output being produced by a training group of machine sewing workers located in a suitably adapted premises, is being sent to Kokchetav to be marketed, even though local demand for it is enormous. In order to accelerate work at the project and bring the factory in Novyy Uzen on line as quickly as possible, independence is needed.

In general we have many questions for the Ministry of Light Industry. We would like, here at this meeting, to ask the ministry representative the following question, the one that people often ask us when they are setting up work. A rayon coefficient of 1.6 to 1.7 has been set for all the enterprises in Novyy Uzen (service workers' coefficient is 1.6), but for some reason, for the sewing factory a coefficient of 1.3 has been set. We think that this is socially unjust: we breathe the same air and swallow the same dust as all the others. But the republic Ministry of Light Industry and State Committee for Labor and Social Problems for some reason thinks otherwise.

A. Ryspayev is right, of course. The Ministry of Light Industry representative had to meet with those who had turned up for a dialogue in the Palace of Culture and the "Neftyanik" technicians. For it is not just a question of bringing the factory on line as quickly as possible and producing its goods for the population, but also of providing work for more than a thousand people. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA invited the Ministry of Light Industry to take part in the meeting but for some reason the invitation was ignored. Evidently the ministry will nevertheless express its own attitude through the newspaper toward the resolution of the problems covered.

Questions of employment for the population require increasingly careful study. In particular on the part of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the Ministry of Education. Thus, the No 3 agricultural vocational and technical school of the Mangyshlakneftegazstroy has over the past 3 years trained 595 young workers for the occupations of joiner, painter-and-plasterer, electrician, bulldozer driver, gas welder, sanitation metalworker and vehicle fitter. Some 192 people in the trust subdivision have been engaged in this work. Each year more than 500 people graduate from the city's schools. At least 100 of them have problems with work. The sewing factory will provide work for the young women. But what of the young men? The Novyy Uzen city soviet has now for some years been insistently trying to introduce the idea of building a plant for the repair of petroleum equipment. Now that equipment has to be sent for repair in Baku, Volgograd, Guryev, Bashkiria or Tataria. Under conditions of cost accounting this is expensive. But the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry is still deaf to these proposals.

"Messengers" from Finland were recently in Novyy Uzen. The made the following proposal: give us 300,000 sheepskins and we shall overload the city with Finnish clothing. This proposal did not reach the higher organs. There are adequate raw materials locally, but nowhere to process them.

On Mangyshlak it is the custom to use flannelette. During the war one of the local people was taken prisoner. His fate was complicated and so never returned. After long ordeals he settled in Turkey and started to work in a tanning factory. There he saw that the technology it was using was not as good as the method for dressing sheepskins that he had learned since childhood. Realizing this, he took a patent on a Kazakh popular method as his own technological development and started to sew beautiful tanned coats and quickly grew rich, and his boss was ruined. It is difficult to swear where the truth lies here, and where the invention. But people of the older generation do remember that in the villages they make fine sheepskins. The folk method has

not yet been forgotten but has fallen into disuse. It is possible to revive the skill of the old masters, teach young people, and train experts who are greatly needed. There is adequate local raw material: many sheep are reared on the farmsteads. It is possible to find a suitable way to barter output for finished products. A situation in which to set up production, buy equipment, and organize a profitable business that will bring in millions. However, the initiative of the city soviet was not supported by the Ministry of Local Industry.

Those who have remained in Staryy Uzen live particularly poorly. At one time it was a settlement for geologists opening up the Uzen deposit. When they had completed their work the geologists left and now only 2,700 of the more than 6,000 inhabitants remain. The settlement is subordinated to the Novyy Uzen city soviet.

S. Bekmurzin, a secondary school teacher from the settlement of Staryy Uzen

They have built a school for us. Thank you. It was designed for 1,176 students but no more than 800 attend classes. Let me explain the reason: the population is leaving because the huts are in the last stages of decrepitude: 80 percent of the housing is damaged, and there is nowhere to work. Apart from the teachers and the educators in the kindergarten, the only other people who are working are two barbers. Young people are fixing themselves up in Novyy Uzen, but for older people the 20-kilometer journey there and back everyday is hard. Many of the local people keep camels and sheep and we could arrange for them to work at home; many people here know how to knit sweaters from camel wool, make felt, and process sheepskins.

I went to the gorispolkom chairman A.V. Kurichev about this. He explained to me that we intend to open up a branch of the city personal services with 100 work places. The matter is being agreed with the Ministry of Local Industry. For some reason it is taking a long time to reach agreement. We are still not seeing any results.

Another settlement—Tenga—is also under the jurisdiction of the gorispolkom.

T. Andygaliyev, an inhabitant of the settlement

When you tell people, no one will believe it. For 25 years now the settlement has been sitting on a gas deposit but we do not have our own gas. Our gas is delivered through pipelines, even to the FRG, but I cannot boil my teapot even though the main gas pipeline runs only 200 meters from the settlement.

The settlement is 3 kilometers from Novyy Uzen, but the difference between living conditions in the city and in our settlement is enormous. They have their water from the Volga and it is possible to grow greenery, while not only is our water brought in but the payment for this has been increased. A total of 4,800 inhabitants live in the settlement but there is no local work. It would also be possible to start up production for user-fee services.

At the meeting there was a direct and uncompromising demand to remove the antituberculosis establishments from the city.

A. Baymurzayeva, senior nurse at the inter-regional tuberculosis outpatient center

If you have come to deal with the fate of "small cities" and their social questions, then we think that in Kazakhstan tuberculosis is problem No 1, and it requires priority and immediate resolution.

T. Azimov, pensioner

When will the question of eliminating the antituberculosis hospital in the city be resolved? Everyone knows that the combination of a particularly dangerous tubercular infection and the extreme climatic conditions is affecting the health of our population.

V. Alekseyev, a worker at the Kazakh gas processing plant

One tuberculosis clinic is located at the city boundary alongside the petroleum tekhnikum and the agricultural vocational and technical school and the sewing factory and housing under construction. Year after year they promise to relocate the clinic. When will this happen? We think that for a city such as ours, three tuberculosis clinics with 2,000 patients are too many.

But perhaps people's emotions and fears interwoven in such statements are exaggerated?

Let us turn to the reference material signed by the chief medical officer of the state epidemiological station, B. Zhumaliyev: "As of today 269 patients with an active form of tuberculosis are registered in the city, of whom 12 are children. More than 50 patients are excreting bacteria. Whereas the average for the republic is 32 cases per 10,000, in Novyy Uzen the figure is 43 per 10,000. The incidence of the disease has increased. During the first quarter of last year 10 new cases were registered, and this year's figure is already 29. There is a 140-place kindergarten in the city where children suspected of possibly being infected are held. But this is not enough. Some 82 children needing sanatorium treatment are still being deprived of that opportunity."

Of course, the figures cited by the chief medical officer are horrifying. But could the treatment facility, designed explicitly to conquer the disease, itself become a dangerous source of infection? Let us turn again to document cited above: "The premises of the tuberculosis clinic has been adapted and its sanitation-technical condition is catastrophic, adults and children with tuberculosis are housed in the same premise and eat in a common dining

hall, which is categorically prohibited by the sanitation-epidemiological standards. There is no disinfection, nor has there been, of the sewage that enters the sewage collection system. The premises of the tuberculosis clinic have no place in Novyy Uzen. In and of itself it is a mockery of those suffering from tuberculosis. [no closing quotation marks as published]

The problems of tuberculosis do not end here. Corrective labor colony No 63 has been functioning there, a colony adapted as an antituberculosis zone and located on the territory of the Kazakh gas processing plant sanitation forbidden zone. By order of the republic minister of internal affairs a second colony, No 86, has been modified as an antitubercular colony. Our opinion is that no matter what the orders that may come from above, unsuitable zones can in no way be made into antituberculosis establishments, and that all of this is an additional source of infection of tuberculosis, nothing but tuberculosis. Sick prisoners are people, not "zeks" [Gulag slang for "prisoners"], and they must be treated.

To this the following should be added: the sewage from these acutely infected establishments is fed into the city sewage system without any preliminary treatment. The storage tanks have been turned into a chain of lakes into god alone knows what fish have entered and bred there in great numbers. These storage tanks have literally become the place where young boys go. They not only fish there but also swim.

It is common knowledge that someone with cavernous tuberculosis, that is, an open form of the disease, is very dangerous to those around him. And the storage tanks, where for years the disease excretions of 2,000 pulmonary patients have been concentrated? Are they not a gigantic cavern with billions of live Koch's bacteria?!

This situation did not come about all by itself. Someone knowingly signed illegal documents giving the green light for the grossest violations of sanitation-epidemiological standards. Why did the procurator's office not investigate the matter? Or is the talk about a rule-of-law state just that—talk?

Those attending the meeting wanted to hear explanations about the dangerous situation that has developed from the representatives of the Kazakh Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. But they were not there.

It is not a question of "ridding" Novyy Uzen of an unwanted neighbor and "curbing" someone else. It is a different issue: creating normal treatment conditions for patients. We see that these conditions do not exist in Novyy Uzen. (Incidentally, this is what the patients themselves think).

A commission of the USSR Ministry of Health, Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Health and the Kazakh Scientific Research Institute of Tuberculosis reached the same conclusion 3 years ago. It recommended that the clinic be relocated in the settlement of Umirzak near Shevchenko, where a number of suitable premises were available. The Mangyshlak oblispolkom allocated funds for their repair and for equipping them. But after the Mangyshlak Oblast was abolished, the new boss of the region—the Guryev oblispolkom—canceled the earlier decision.

K. Zhalymbetov, chief physician at the city medical association

A central hospital with 220 beds, a hospital for maternity patients with 100 beds, and a pediatric hospital with 120 beds are located within the city. There are 81.5 beds per 1,000 people available to the public as opposed to the republic's average of 126. If we add the fact that all these buildings were constructed more than 20 years ago, their condition becomes clear.

Take the maternity hospital. All departments are overloaded by a factor of 1.5 to 2. During the 1986-1988 period, we observed outbreaks of purulent-septic infections among new-born infants. Some 67 percent of pregnant women suffered from various kinds of postpartum illnesses resulting from poor care in the hospital. For the past 4 years, three out of every 1,000 new-born infants have died.

I consider it expedient to build a new 100-bed birthing facility with modern equipment and fittings. The gynecological consulting service handles more than 16,000 women. But it is located in a division in the city polyclinic, and consists of six consulting rooms. Three physicians take turns to examine the healthy and treat the patients.

The personnel problem in public health remains acute. Of the 172 physicians and 384 middle-level medical personnel, 101 have been on the housing waiting list since 1982, and 23 junior specialists since 1986. The chronic work overload (about 40,000 house calls are made every year) with the existing lack of wage differential and night duty for female doctors, plus the endless standing in line to buy produce, along with other inconveniences of living, long ago exceeded the enthusiasm of the Soviet physician.

Oil recovery and gas processing present a major fire hazard. Burns are the most widespread production accident among oil workers. But the city does not have even one burn room, and casualties must be sent by air to Moscow. Needless to say, it is impossible to provide emergency care locally for the serious sequelae that often ensue.

Until this year the people of Novyy Uzen drank water drawn from the Amudarya. It is common knowledge that this river flows through regions where cotton and rice are grown and where there is extensive use of herbicides, defoliants and mineral fertilizers. It is not known how

many of them enter the river. But it is known that the water from the Amudarya has a deleterious effect on the kidneys. The incidence of nephritis has risen in the city and physicians must pay special attention to patients in this category. But there is no diagnostic equipment for detecting kidney diseases, just as there is no equipment for the oncology department. The impossibility of obtaining skilled medical assistance locally places people in a very difficult position. Patients who must have consultations are forced to travel to other cities in their own time and spend savings that have taken them years to accumulate.

Physicians have recently started to encounter catarrhal and rheumatic diseases resulting from living in the so-called "black apartments."

V. Ryzhik, worker at the Uzenenergoneft Administration

The city has a population approaching 60,000 but is heated by a boiler house designed for 30,000 inhabitants. The service life of pipes in the heating system is much less than defined by the standards, and moreover there is a catastrophic shortage of pipe. Quite often homes remain without heat. At one time the Kazgiprograd Institute devised a plan for Novyy Uzen for gallery-type houses made from shellrock, without external plaster. Under conditions of the unstable operation of the boiler house these homes have become the first to be "destroyed by the frost": diffuse black spots have started to appear in the corners and on the walls and ceilings. There are now 417 such apartments and the number is growing. In order somehow to maintain heat in them the gorispolkom decided to plaster the buildings. But this is only a cosmetic operation. What is needed is the urgent construction of the boiler house promised to the city many years ago, and a review of the manifestly obsolete standard designs for houses built in Novyy Uzen. The so-called gallery-type houses are the cause of many complaints from inhabitants. They are popularly known as "the dust collectors." And if you take into account the fact that there is in any case no shortage of dust here, then you can understand the inconveniences that the inhabitants endure.

In our republic Novyy Uzen is probably the only city where the Ministry of Communications has not set foot, for there is no telephone network. There is a technological network, with telephone sets in the homes of those workers who by reason of their service duties must maintain constant communication with production—the operators of group installations, emergency and fire workers... The telephone exchange for the city is moved on from one five-year plan to the next. And meanwhile there are 29 of the disabled from the Great Patriotic War and 91 people who have been disabled since childhood who are still without telephones. Applications for telephones are simply not being accepted from other citizens.

Although the railroad has reached Novyy Uzen there is still no sense of having regular communication with the "big land." Passenger trains do not come here, and in order to take a plane or cross to the other side of the Caspian by road it is necessary to go to Shevchenko, 150 kilometers away. The destination of many travelers is the cities of the Caucasus. Aeroflot used to fly regular services to Mineralnyye Vody, Baku, Groznyy and Makhachkala, and a full load was guaranteed. Now the city has grown, and continues to grow, but the number of flights has been cut back for some reason, and there is no service at all to Mineralnyye Vody. Negotiations with the Kazakh civil aviation administration on developing the airport at Novyy Uzen have so far been without result. There are also many problems with the steamship ferry and the Caspian Steamship Company is in no hurry to resolve them.

Given this situation, not only passenger movements but also the movement of foodstuffs for the population are difficult. Sometimes problems arise in the most unexpected way. Thus, Aeroflot refused to deliver fresh yeast to Novyy Uzen and as a result the quality of baking at the local bakery has deteriorated. True, sugar is being sold here without restrictions, but coupons are required for meat and potatoes. In order somehow to augment meat resources a hog farm has been set up, and even given the very acute shortages of water an opportunity has been made to organize the cultivation of fodder crops on irrigated land, and hothouses have been built. But the produce from private subsidiary farming only partly meets demand. Coupons are issued intermittently, for example, for those same potatoes. The problem of supplying Novyy Uzen and Shevchenko with foodstuffs, particularly green vegetables, could be largely solved by constructing a road to Bekdash. This, incidentally, would also free up transport movement. A Novyy Uzen—Bekdash road will cost R18 million. The necessary documents and the permission have been obtained. The Guryev oblispolkom and the Mangyshlakneft Association have allocated R2.5 million for the project. However, the other participants—the Caspian Mining and Metallurgical Combine, the Mangyshlakrakushechnik Association, and the Mangyshlakneftegazstroy Trust—are in no hurry with their contributions even though they are well aware that the road would open up the flow from Turkmenia onto the peninsula of grapes, water melons, musk melons, tomatoes and other vegetables for which the prices are high in the local markets even at the height of the season.

This material was being prepared for print when we received a telephone call from the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems intersector center for the organization of labor and social development. Agreement had been reached with the Novyy Uzen gorispolkom for experts from the center to draw up a scientifically sound program for the social development of the city through the period to the year 2000.

Implementation of the program will be the responsibility of a territorial-intereconomic association—a cost-accounting working organ of the city soviet, with a unique mechanism for reacting flexibly to the conjuncture of social forces. The task for the territorial-intereconomic association is provide economic interest for enterprises, regardless of their departmental affiliation, in the social development of the territory. Incidentally, this kind of experience has already been gained. Territorial-intereconomic associations under the ispolkoms are operating successfully in small cities in the country such Poti, Termez, Rybachye, and Uryupinsk. The first territorial-intereconomic association in Kazakhstan was set up under the Talgar gorispolkom.

The idea of creating an association of the small cities of Kazakhstan has also been mooted. Operating on the basis of cost accounting and mutually advantageous exchanges, such cities could directly resolve some of the issues that are of significance to them. For example, the Ushtobe Yurt Combine is producing kitchen and dacha furniture and timber and window units for dachas. The combine has an opportunity to build up its production. But it is being held back by shortages of plastic facing materials. The Kazakh Gas Processing Plant operates in Novyy Uzen and it supplies raw materials to a plastics plant in Shevchenko. The people of Novyy Uzen are experiencing an acute shortage of furniture and dacha construction is intensive. So why should above-plan plastic and pipes whose service life has expired at the drilling holes (for they have a found a use for them in Ushtobe) not be bartered for furniture and structures for dachas? I think that a legal form could be found for such barter. The association could be engaged in this kind of activity for the purpose of accelerating the social development of small cities.

The questions from those attending the meeting were answered by S.S. Saydazimov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Guryev Obkom; N.U. Bekbosynov, general director of the Mangyshlakneft Production Association and USSR people's deputy; Ye. Kumiskaliyev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Novyy Uzen gorkom; A.V. Kirichev, chairman of the Novyy Uzen city soviet ispolkom; S.M. Kuznetsov, chief of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Grain Products Baking Industry Administration; A.P. Myskin, chief specialist at the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Local Industry; and V.P. Vikhlyayev, manager of the Mangyshlakneftegazstroy Trust. First deputy editor of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, I.V. Rodionov, chaired the meeting.

The editor requests the leadership of the Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Grain Products, Ministry of Local Industry, Ministry of Consumer Services, Ministry of Power and Electrification and Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Kazakh Department of civil aviation and other departments whose enterprises are located in Novyy Uzen, to examined the issues raised at the meeting, within the level of their competence.

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA will monitor questions concerning the social develop of Novyy Uzen and the course of their realization. We shall be providing information on the state of affairs.

[The following material labeled "From the Notes of Those Speaking at the Meeting" was published in boxes throughout the text]

N. Melnikov, worker: The question of the power of the soviets, regional cost accounting, and the role of soviet power at the local level is now being raised extensively.

Novyy Uzen specializes in the recovery of oil and gas, which play an important role in economics and politics. But almost all the everyday and sociocultural aspects of the way of life of those who have created this national wealth have been infringed upon. Give us the oil and gas, and how you live is your affair. I think that this is wrong. Our people, working in difficult conditions, should feel the concern of soviet power.

The chairman of the city soviet now deals with the leaders of the city enterprises as a suppliant. Is it not high time to pose the question in a different way? Is this really the best way of solving all the city's problems more quickly?

V. Makarov, a journalist: Before September 1988 the people of Novyy Uzen used to receive the oblast newspaper OGNI MANGYSHLAKA from Shevchenko, which in every issue devoted considerable space to Novyy Uzen and its problems.

Now we get the oblast newspaper PRIKASPIYSKAYA KOMMUNA, which is published in Guryev, and Novyy Uzen has disappeared from its pages. The lack of information is keenly felt in the city. Rumors—these are now the "news" and they are most absurd.

There is a printing house base available for the city's own newspaper. The printing house is used to print blank forms while its capacities to print a large-circulation newspaper stand idle.

V. Zakharchuk, worker in the municipal housing office: Housing construction using the economic method is being done with the grossest violations of construction standards and regulations and technology. In the No 4 and No 5 developments new houses need capital repairs. Sewage lines, ventilation and heating are virtually absent and gas is not laid on.

Last year municipal housing office contractors planned major repairs worth R1.2 million but only R480,000 were used. The title list was altered several times during the year.

The municipal housing office is supposed to maintain the housing inventory in proper order. However, it has to deal with work that is not its work: making major repairs on newly commissioned projects while no resources are left for current repairs on apartments.

In accordance with the state standard, the service life of pipes in cold-water supply systems is 30 years, while for hot water pipes it is 10 years, and for heating plants 40 years. Under our conditions, in which metal corrosion is high, major repairs of the heating system are needed after 2 years. The Kazakh SSR Gossnab must therefore review the standards for the Caspian region.

V. Burov, pensioner: Starting a city newspaper will solve nothing. We have written and made appeals to many appellate levels but we constantly encounter an incomprehensible lack of understanding.

R. Rifiyev, from a children's pioneer sports school: Here in the city we have a shortage of specialists with a sports education, and year after year the applications for them go unheeded.

The inventory of sports equipment is quite inadequate. A question to the Kazakh SSR State Committee on Sports through the newspaper: when will it finally be possible to purchase copies of START in adequate quantities in the stores?

And one more question, this one for the gorispolkom. For how long will hard-standing areas for cars be built between the housing developments in the city rather than sports areas and playing fields for children?

U. Telekulov, worker in the Uzen tower assembly administration: My question is about bilingualism. A good resolution has been passed on studies of the Kazakh and Russian languages but how do things stand in our city? The 8-grade Kazakh school is located in old huts. There is a shortage of textbooks for the junior classes in Kazakh schools. I say this from my own experience as a parent. Will the Ministry of Education be providing good textbooks for our children in the new academic year? I am thinking not only of Kazakh children but also schoolchildren of other nationalities studying their native tongue.

I. Magomedov, a worker in the Kazakh gas processing plant: About 5,000 Lezgins live in our city. Taking this fact into account, would it not be possible to start classes in the city for studying their native tongue? It would be desirable for people coming to Mangyshlak not to be divorced from their native tongues, literature and culture, which, as among all peoples, inculcate only kindness, friendship and openness...

Sh. Mametova, teacher at the No 10 school: To this day 23 of our teachers remain on the waiting list for better housing. We are experiencing great difficulties in placing children in children's establishments. Being a teacher is not comfortable; sometimes we lack the most essential things. A reception took place on this subject in October 1988 with the gorispolkom chairman A.V. Kuchiyev. There are still no results.

G. Aldasheva, a mother: With a planned capacity of 8,158 places for the city's schools, the actual number is 12,524. According to the plan for the development of education there should be 13,200 schoolchildren in 1995 in 12 secondary schools designed for 10,508 students.

This is clearly inadequate. Both children and parents have grown tired of the multi-shift system

Problems With Leased Farms in Ukraine Reported

LD3006054289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 29 June broadcasts a report from Kiev by radio correspondent Vladimir Sokolov in which he states that many things have turned out unfavorably in the Ukraine. He reports that more than 10,000 contract collectives in the republice are growing crops on more than 9,000,000 hectares. But, Sokolov adds, the more contract workers there are in the villages, the more complaints come into the republic's agro-industrial committee because the collective and state farms are failing to fulfil their obligations to the lease contractors. The Zaporozhe and Vinnitsa local soviets are also said to drag their feet in allotting land to the lease contractors. Sokolov continues that the collective and state farms are in a privileged situation compared with the lease contractors, and at the moment the rights of the lease contractors are not protected, especially by the local soviets. So although there are an increasing number of lease contractors in the Ukraine, direct results of their activity are not evident for the moment, Sokolov comments.

The item ends with a report from Kostroma Oblast where lease contractors are reluctant to take over a farm because they are afraid it might not be beneficial because the rights of lease contractors are not protected and they cannot be sure that the land will remain in their hands for a definite time.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 23 Jun

PM2706140789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A routine session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 23 June to examine the question of the immediate tasks of RSFSR soviets of people's deputies to implement the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

It was noted that the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies was a most important event in the country's political life and an important phase in creating a rule-of-law state. It showed the tremendous potential of representative organs for governing the country and their ever increasing role in resolving socioeconomic, political, and spiritual problems. The Congress convincingly confirmed the correctness of the CPSU's course of democratizing the country and restructuring all spheres of society, and the need to implement an energetic and realistic policy based on the support of the broad masses. The advancement of the new thinking in international affairs and the real results in reducing the level of tension in the world won a high assessment at the Congress. The Congress resolution "On the Basic Guidelines for USSR Domestic and Foreign Policy," aimed at ensuring the country's comprehensive development, has become the basis of all the activity of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics, and local soviets in the RSFSR. A resolution adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium defined the tasks of the RSFSR soviets of people's deputies to implement the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers, the supreme soviet presidiums and councils of ministers of the autonomous republics, and local soviet executive committees have been instructed to examine the questions raised at the Congress relating to the republic's socioeconomic and political life and to take steps to implement them. In their practical activity soviet organs must comprehensively assess and consider all deputies' critical comments and proposals regarding the local economy.

In accordance with the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium indicated the need to focus the soviets' actions on the implementation of urgent steps to resolve the most pressing problems linked with improving the financial position, fulfilling the Food Program, more actively implementing economic reform, and environmental security. It also indicated the need to make this work more dynamic and purposeful and to ensure that negative trends are overcome step-by-step and that vital questions which are worrying people—above all in such spheres as the supply of food and commodities and the improvement of the accommodation situation in the spheres of education, public health, and services—are resolved.

The need to step up the attention paid by the soviets to resolving problems of interethnic relations was stressed. Questions raised by life, including those relating to the republic's federal system and the development of autonomous formations, must be tackled more vigorously. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium fully supports the Congress' course of consolidating friendship and cooperation between all the peoples of the multiethnic Soviet state.

The attention of the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics and local soviets was drawn to the need for thoughtful analysis of the processes taking place in the spiritual and moral sphere and in the development of the culture, education, and instruction of young people. Local soviets of people's deputies must create the requisite conditions for the successful activity of USSR people's deputies and ensure their active and constructive participation in electoral organs and public organizations.

The supreme soviets in the autonomous republics and local soviets have been instructed to carry out the requisite work to clarify the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies as a turning point in the country's life, opening the way to real power for the people.

Another question on the agenda of the session moderated by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was formulated as follows: "On the work of the soviets of people's deputies in Kaluga Oblast to fulfill the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum."

Reporting on the work now being started, A.I. Stelikov, chairman of the oblast executive committee, described the following as one of the most reassuring facts: The oblast's rural population has increased for the first time in the postwar years. Previously an average of up to 30,000 rural inhabitants left their homes every year. Last year's statistics recorded more than 3,000 new peasants. Admittedly, some will only be those who had just been born on Kaluga territory in 1988 while some people have settled there ready to work.

Why is this? The countryside has become the number one concern for the soviets of people's deputies. It is being organized at hitherto undreamed-of rates and abounds in personal plots.

The main attention is being devoted to improving economic relations in the countryside, transferring collective farms, state farms, and other agro-industrial complex enterprises to the principles of economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing, strengthening the economy of low-profitability and unprofitable economic units, using the lease system, and further developing subsidiary farms for enterprises and agricultural units. The oblast attaches great importance to the socioeconomic reconstruction of the countryside and to fostering a conscientious attitude to labor. A.I. Stelikov's speech was listened to amicably and provoked many questions--both critical and with regard to experience. Then Kh.Kh. Bokov, chairman of the Chechen Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is in charge of the team that worked in Kaluga Oblast and prepared this question for the hearing, asked to speak.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet To Meet 27 Jul

LD2606154189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has resolved to convene the 13th session of the 11th convocation of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet on 27 July 1989 in the city of Alma-Ata. The Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet reports that the following matters will be submitted for examination by the 13th session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet: The chairmanship of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; the tasks of the republic's soviets of people's deputies to strengthen state and labor discipline in conditions of democratization and glasnost; and confirmation of the decrees of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet.

Diplomat Attends Brazauskas-Jaruzelski Talk

LD2906125189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian Communist Party leader, Algirdas Brazauskas, is now visiting Poland. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, a cooperation program between the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Polish Workers' Party was signed in Warsaw. Observers note that the signing of this document is a serious step towards the sovereignty of Lithuania. General Jaruzelski stressed that this program of bilateral cooperation is a very important event for the Polish United Workers' Party.

High-ranking Polish officials say that a similar cooperation program would not be possible to sign at present with the Communist Parties of Belorussia and the Ukraine as both of them continue to be under Moscow's thumb.

It seems that the Soviet diplomatic corps also realized the peculiarity of the present situation. Though a private talk between the first secretry of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, and the Polish leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, was agreed upon beforehand, the Soviet ambassador and consul to Poland were also present.

On the whole, the visit of Algirdas Brazauskas to Poland is going on in an atmosphere of goodwill and benevolence. [passage omitted]

Celebration of Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Held

OW1007210089 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0810 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Ten Days of Soviet-Mongolian Friendship, timed to the 68th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution, is under way in Alma-Ata, Soviet Kazakhstan. On display is the photo exhibition showing long-standing Soviet-Mongolian ties.

Today, Mongolia and the Soviet Union are realizing the long-term program of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation up to the year 2000. Soviet Kazakhstan is contributing to the realization of this program. Over 50 enterprises of Kazakhstan perform orders for Mongolia and specialists from Soviet Kazakhstan dealt in mineral prospecting, developing animal husbandry, and (?sparing) Mongolian fauna and flora.

Social Science Institute Graduates Hailed

CPSU Congratulates Graduates

PM2906132789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message: "To Graduates of the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates you on the completion of your studies at the institute.

Your stay in the Soviet Union coincided with a time of revolutionary changes in our people's lives. The first Congress of USSR People's Deputies has been a turning point in the political, social, and spiritual development of the Land of the Soviets. It marks the entry of our society into a new stage—the stage of asserting genuine people's power and including all citizens in the system of socialist self-management. The scale and complexity of work on the path of restructuring is immense. But we are determined to move resolutely forward in order to reveal socialism's creative potential to the full.

In its international activity the CPSU, guided by the new political thinking, is striving to implement the objective potential that has emerged for entering a fundamentally new period of peace in mankind's history. We proceed on the basis that the Soviet Union's strategic line in the international arena ratified by the Congress of People's Deputies not only reflects the Soviet people's interests but also accords with the fundamental interests of mankind as a whole.

The CPSU will continue to consistently advocate equal cooperation and close international collaboration among all workers' and left-wing democratic parties and progressive and peace-loving political trends and organizations.

In turn we highly assess the fraternal parties' solidarity with our activities aimed at renewing socialism and strengthening peace and international security.

We wish you, Dear Comrades, good health, happiness, and successes in your activities for the good of working people and for the sake of peace, democracy, and socialism.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Yakovlev Addresses Students

PM2906090789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Latest Student Graduation"]

[Text] On 27 June a ceremonial meeting was held in the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute in connection with the latest graduation of students—representatives of communist, workers, and revolutionary democratic parties. A speech of greeting to the 1989 graduates was given by the rector of the institute, Yu.A. Krasin.

Those present were addressed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said in particular:

The main lesson in these past weeks and months has been the whole of Soviet society's life, which you have observed directly, from the inside. A complicated, turbulent, and contradictory life.

Only now has socialism begun to fulfill the most important task for its future—creating and perfecting an efficient system of feedback in society. It is essentially a question of establishing people's power and democratizing socialist society. That is the main thrust, the central pivot, and the essence and meaning of restructuring.

Socialist teaching knows only one dogma—the dogma of development. But this means that there must be numerous different threads leading not only from teaching to practice but also from practice to theory. They would make the timely amendment of views, approaches, and decisions possible and necessary.

Socialism is the creativity of the masses, the creativity of a free people. But the social and legal conditions for this freedom and this creativity must be created and reliably protected and guaranteed. They can only be conditions of democracy and no others.

The socialist economy is expected to serve the individual. But in order for this to happen, it must be connected to the individual by a multitude of ties, be aware of his reasonable needs, and obey them. This multitude of ties which, moreover, must be imperative and effective, can be guaranteed by a socialist market and a diversity of forms of national ownership.

Socialism is freedom of spiritual creativity and individual self-expression and ennoblement. But this kind of freedom is possible only if there is respect for intellectual work, creativity, and the intellectual process in general. It is possible only on the condition that this process is liberated from bureaucratic tutelage and all manner of barriers and obstacles.

Socialism is equality, fraternity, and friendship between peoples. But today we feel and understand particularly acutely that every successive generation will decide these issues for itself afresh, in line with changing historical conditions. We see and understand that interethnic relations are inevitably affected by serious deformations in the economy and the social sphere.

Socialism is humanism in its new, higher manifestation. But, again, it is not only and not so much expressed in intentions. The actual substance of real, everyday social relations and man's interaction with society everywhere and in everything must be humanistic. First and foremost in actions and only then in words.

Socialism means affirming in every individual the ideology of being master of your destiny and your country. But you cannot be master if you do not really possess anything and you are not fully in charge. You cannot either be or feel yourself to be master if, throughout your life, everywhere, and in everything, you are in the position of the supplicant rather than actually creating your own life.

Socialism means an unconditional guarantee of social justice. But the administrative-edict system constantly undermines it instead of creating it. Social justice will not have full value unless it is achieved by the individual himself as a result of his own efforts rather than always being a consequence of some department or official being favorably disposed.

Finally, socialism is a society where the masses are aware of everything and make conscious judgements on everything, thereby having the opportunity to work out a qualified opinion on all issues and then to act on the basis of this opinion and incorporate it in their own role in social life. Both are possible only in the conditions of glasnost.

All these tasks are being resolved by restructuring. But these tasks in aggregate mean we have to create and fine-tune a ramified, efficient system of feedback in our society.

That is why we are sure that the present state of crisis is a product of renewal and development. Once we have fine-tuned the feedback system, we will make the socialist organism more flexible, more sensitive to the individual, more humane, more geared to self-regulation and self-development, and more protected against recurrences of authoritarianism. In other words, it will endeavor and will be able to progress in all spheres with far greater benefit to the individual than has been the case in the past.

That is why we call restructuring a revolution, because a new structure of social relations and relationships must essentially be created which, in one way or another, will have a profound impact on all people's interests and ideas.

What have the 4 years of restructuring taught us? We have conducted an analysis of the state of society unequalled in its depth, frankness, openness, painfulness, and courage.

Criticism has dominated this analysis, which is natural. The severity of this criticism—and it has been so strong that it has frightened some people in our country and some of our friends abroad—has been a kind of compensation for the long decades of silence and tendency toward glorification. This criticism has been a blessing, a salvation, and an atonement all in one.

But, considering the social experience we have accumulated and all the consequences of the purging wave, it is natural to ask: Have we not lingered too long at this stage? Has a new form of inertia not arisen, casting doubt on absolutely everything and—willingly or unwillingly—fuelling a social pessimism which is only to the advantage of forces opposed to restructuring?

Has there not been an unintentional list toward the line of least resistance, when one aspect of the whole arsenal of restructuring—democracy, initiative, responsibility, independence, and openness—has come to dominate the rest: namely, criticism? This is an aspect, moreover, that no longer requires civic courage. It now takes far more courage to say a good word about something and even more to implement restructuring in practice.

This is a big question, a complex, complicated question, which is hard to answer and poses a difficulty for politics.

To artificially check the critical mood, glasnost, and free, pointed discussions would not only be senseless but would run counter to the spirit of restructuring and the democratic renewal of society.

We have paid dearly, very dearly in every respect for the decades when social thought was dumb and silent. We have paid with the decline in morality, the authority of power, economic losses and miscalculations, and ecological disasters. Criticism has come to us with restructuring, become the norm of life, and will continue to remain so. The CPSU's fundamental stand on this issue has been presented clearly, firmly, and definitely.

But we also cannot fail to see the danger of a kind of social masochism which ultimately does not care on what it speculates: eulogy or subversion.

A kind of moral barrier must be placed in the way of this omnivorous social phenomenon, but not an administrative barrier, of course. It can and must take the form of improvement in the social atmosphere; democracy, which alone can regulate the balance between good and evil; the cultivation of rationality, the cultivation of patriotic distress for mistakes and blunders, and the cultivation of the habit of action and creativity rather than words. The consolidation of society's forces—not on ruins but on the firm ground of things lasting, real, and achieved—is also expected to be such a barrier. Also their consolidation on the basis of inevitability of change and commitment to the values engendered by restructuring.

The artificial encouragement of nihilism closes the way to development and narrows people's spiritual and practical horizons. A sure sign of criticism that is creative, constructive, and interested in real action rather than in striking some pose is its ability to reveal new prospects and make accessible reserves and potentials hitherto unknown or unrequired. Its quality lies in serving as the kind of feedback which gives vitality and energy to the social organism rather than depriving it of its moral and vital strengths.

There is nothing insuperable, insoluble, or inaccessible in the problems being resolved by restructuring. This confidence is based not only on a realistic, sober appraisal of our inner reserves and possibilities but also on our perception of the interconnection between socialism and world development processes, between restructuring and international life.

Restructuring advanced the concept of new political thinking but it, in its turn, is nourished and motivated by this concept in many respects. It would be wrong to interpret it simply as a foreign policy doctrine. The philosophical, moral, and political meaning of the new political thinking lies in reviving the closest ties between socialism and world development. Ties which have been artificially disturbed in the past and, in many ways, completely severed.

But those times are rapidly receding. We now realize just how much we have suffered in all respects from this isolation. We understand that the external threat to the Soviet Union and to socialism is still there. But we also bear in mind that socialism can accelerate its development on the basis of interpreting all accessible world experience. After all, it was born out of thoughts on the destiny of not just one country but of all mankind. It has advanced not by falling in love with its own fundamental truth but by paying close attention to all the problems and concerns of the human race. This is the only way socialism can develop in the future.

We are sure that by following a path of renewal and relying on its own best traditions, the communist movement will take a worthy place among the forces shaping the face of the modern world.

Discussing the work of the Social Sciences Institute, A.N. Yakovlev noted the new possibilities and prospects opening up before it in connection with the restructuring of its work and the academic process. He stressed the great significance of students being directly acquainted with the practice of restructuring and the role which republic, kray, and oblast party committees are expected

to play in this respect, as well as of the institute broadening its contacts with the scientific centers of a number of socialist and social democratic parties.

A.N. Yakovlev congratulated the students on completing their studies and read the text of a greetings message addressed to them from the CPSU Central Committee.

Chebrikov Addresses Aviation Workers 27 Jun

PM2906111389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Party and Soviets in Single Formation"]

[Text] In the wake of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, party leaders are visiting labor collectives and conducting a frank exchange of opinions on problems of special concern to people. Such meetings provide an opportunity to explain the policy of the party in greater depth in an atmosphere of direct communication and help to correctly assess the situation in the country and adjust the measures that are being adopted to rectify the situation in various spheres. On 27 June, a meeting took place between V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, and representatives of labor collectives of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation.

He opened his speech with a topic that remains at the focus of society's attention—the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It can, of course, be assessed from different angles, V.M. Chebrikov said. However, it is possible to say right now that it was an extraordinary event of exceptional importance in the history of our country. Frankly speaking, a landmark event. By its glasnost, democratic nature, the deputies' sense of freedom, personal criticism, intensity, and the fruitfulness of the debate, the Congress surpassed all expectations. The most crucial problems were in the forefront—economic reform, interethnic relations, provision of the population with food and housing, the position of pensioners, the disabled, and other citizens in the low-income bracket, ecological problems, and so forth. The Congress laid the groundwork for the solution of these problems and society's progress along the road of restructuring. The election of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the endorsement of his report became essentially a vote of confidence in the policy of our Leninist Party.

The ultimate objective of the activities of the party is ensuring the material well-being, spiritual development, and moral health of society and each of its members. The ways of achieving these aims were defined in the report "On the Basic Guidelines of the USSR's Domestic and Foreign Policy" and in the government program presented at the congress by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The main task lies in accelerating the assimilation of the new forms of societal life in politics, the economy, and culture and in consolidating the positive changes which are emerging in production and the social sphere.

Our party has honestly admitted the mistakes of the past; it has become the initiator of restructuring; it spearheads the work on the renewal of society. It is dissatisfied with the pace of restructuring, the situation in the economy, the shortages of goods in everyday demand, and other distortions and shortcomings. However, this is a constructive, active dissatisfaction that serves as an impetus for better planning and more purposeful work. However, despite all this, all kind of reproaches have been leveled against the party. There is justified criticism too, of course, but unfortunately, totally unfounded attacks are perpetrated. One explanation for this is the inadequate level of political training and the immaturity of individual citizens. Clearly, in some cases this applies.

However, this can hardly be the sole explanation for attempts to split the party, to drive a wedge between the party and the people, and to blame Communists for all the troubles and difficulties that our country is going through. At present, a number of groupings with an overtly antisocialist bent, masquerading as exponents of the peoples' interests, are actively inciting social dissatisfaction in an effort to pit the working class, young people, and the scientific and creative intelligentsia against the party. They actively advocate what is essentially a renunciation of the socialist path of the country's development and the introduction of political pluralism and a multiparty system. There has been overt defamation of certain party and soviet officials and individual citizens. Unfortunately, sometimes Communists are also involved in these unworthy actions.

What is needed is the serious restructuring of ideological work in conditions of a broad public dialogue aimed at the consolidation of healthy forces in positions of restructuring. Clearly, there is a need to expose the true face of those who in their striving for power are prepared to use any method, who shrink from nothing and work toward the destabilization of society.

Many working people, the CPSU Central Committee secretary then said, are demanding that rigorous measures be adopted in respect of the demagogues and inciters who are trying by any means available to discredit the party and the ideas of restructuring and are staging extremist actions. They believe that such actions should be countered not just by arguments, reasoning, and persuasion but also by the force of Soviet laws. And this is correct.

Since the Congress of People's Deputies, I have heard the following appeal more than once: "They will not hand power to us voluntarily, we will have to take it for ourselves!" How is this to be understood? What is at issue here? If it is a question of handing over power to those who do not like socialism, those who yearn for the

monarchy, those who march in Pushkin Square with the banners of the tsarist empire, then you may rest assured that neither the people nor the party will hand over power to them.

But as regards the division of functions between the party and the soviets, I must say that the soviets have already been invested with real—and I stress, real—legislative and executive power. And what is more, this has taken place on the party's initiative. So that here, in my opinion, everything is clear.

It is true that we must eliminate the existing deformations that are distorting the image of socialism. It is true that we must now focus the influence of the party on restoring our people's faith in the ideals of socialism. A faith based on the real achievements of our system, on substantial changes in the cause of enhancing Soviet people's living standards, and on strict observance of the principles of social justice.

The soviets have been endowed with every opportunity to translate the economic reform into reality and to utilize a broad spectrum of legislative and other levers for this purpose.

It will be the party's task, having rid itself of the functions that are not its own, to elaborate the basic guidelines of the country's domestic and foreign policy to be approved by the supreme organ of power, and to consolidate and pool the efforts of all state, soviet, and social organizations with a view to accelerating restructuring.

Any unprejudiced thinker cannot fail to notice that, the Communist Party aside, there is no force in our society capable of leading it out of the crisis. It was the CPSU that exposed the problems that had come to a head and defined their causes and ways of resolving them. It was the party and its program of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost which shook up society and gave it the chance of renewal. It is the party which is the most powerful guarantor of the irreversibility of restructuring and which does not allow itself to be diverted onto the path of superficial promises, swinging from one extreme to another, or putting the cart before the horse. It is conducting a vigorous yet at the same time balanced and realistic policy.

There are miscalculations, of course, but they do not affect what is crucial, they do not affect the strategy, the general course.

Therefore the party is always prepared to accept just and constructive criticism and businesslike observations and proposals. It is impossible, however, to tolerate attacks on the party and its cadres, and wholesale accusations against the party apparatus. Such attacks on the party are tantamount to blows dealt to restructuring and its present and future. The times demand vigorous actions in defense of restructuring, in upholding the party line by words and actions. The CPSU Central Committee believes that it is necessary to resolutely raise exactingness toward party members, to overcome political infantility, and to instill in them true fighting qualities, the ability to debate with and persuade people, and to lead from the front. It is necessary to raise demands on Communists for the observance of party discipline and the CPSU Statutes, and to step up the democratization of intraparty life. Only in this way can the party's prestige be enhanced.

Party organizations and party committees have been set the task of knowing the situation well, retaining the initiative in raising and resolving overdue problems, and refashioning their relations with the soviets. They must refrain from supplanting soviet organs or subjecting them to petty tutelage, they must strengthen their power and authority by party political methods and enhance the activeness and responsibility of Communist deputies. It is necessary to do everything to pool the efforts of the renewed soviet power and the renewed Communist Party with a view to deepening restructuring for the good of the people and individual citizens. Only in this way will it be possible to advance faster.

The speaker then dwelt on questions of interethnic relations, to which much attention was paid at the Congress of People's Deputies.

In his speech, V.M. Chebrikov raised the problem of the fight against crime. During the past year, he said, there has been a considerable rise in the crime rate. In Moscow, too, the crime situation has deteriorated. What is to be done to defuse the charged atmosphere so that people can work and relax in peace? Naturally, the main point is the elimination of the social and economic causes of crime. These causes will diminish in step with the deepening of restructuring. However, vigorous and urgent measures are also needed—primarily to ensure the effective prevention and exposure of crimes and drive home the inevitability of punishment. The main role here belongs to the law-enforcement organs, which, under the leadership of party and soviet organs, and relying on the broad support of the public, must step up their efforts to combat crime.

In Moscow important measures are being taken to step up the fight against crime and reinforce law and order in the streets. This is being done on the initiative of the Moscow City party committee, the Moscow City Soviet, and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. There are more militia squads and they are better equipped than before. Militia officials are acting with greater confidence and determination—but without transgressing the law, of course. Nonetheless, it has not yet been possible to achieve a real breakthrough in the fight against crime in the capital.

V.M. Chebrikov devoted much attention in his speech to the tasks facing civil aviation workers. The speaker noted the enhanced role of civil aviation in the country's

integrated transport network. The ideas of restructuring are reflected like in a focal point in the constant efforts to improve the socioeconomic atmosphere within Aeroflot. A certain stabilization of the situation as regards flight safety has been registered, and more attention is being paid at local level to the solution of social questions. A great deal has also been done in connection with switching the sector to the new management conditions, democratizing social life, improving the selection and training of cadres, and reinforcing order and organization. On the whole, the civil aviation collective is ensuring the steady fulfillment of the state order and the set targets. Labor productivity is growing and qualitative indicators are improving.

At the same time it has to be admitted that the results of your labor could be significantly better had more vigorous efforts been made at the ministry and at local level to improve the economic mechanism and to identify various ways of satisfying the demand for air transport. So far it has not proved possible to sharply focus the economic transformations in the sector on the interests of the passenger.

As one of the most mobile types of transport, civil aviation needs special discipline, organization, and order. This must become the most important basis of the sector's activities and the focus of constant concern.

In conclusion, V.M. Chebrikov said that civil aviation, just like the country as a whole, is undergoing profound qualitative changes. Extraordinarily important socioeconomic tasks are to be resolved. The main task is to bring civil aviation in line with modern scientific and technical achievements and to ensure the full satisfaction to a high standard of society's air transport requirements. This calls for a great effort on the part of all forces and the utilization of all opportunities, it calls for activeness, initiative, and total devotion to the job.

V.M. Chebrikov answered numerous questions from those present.

V.M. Chebrikov visited a number of Ministry of Civil Aviation enterprises. He acquainted himself with the work of the Central Administration for International Air Communications. The administration's aircraft fly to 119 cities in 97 countries. The administration is a specialized aviation enterprise that ensures passenger, mail, and freight transport on international air routes. At the Sheremetyevo base airport, all types and makes of foreign airline aircraft land and are serviced; 34 of the world's airlines operate regular flights to this airport.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary inspected classrooms, laboratories, and training facilities at the administration's instruction and training center where flight personnel receive additional training. A commentary was provided by V.A. Nacharov, general director of the Central Administration for International Air Communications, and A.K. Vitkovskiy, chief of the instruction and training center.

V.M. Chebrikov acquainted himself with the work of ground staff and visited the traffic-control room.

At present, Il-86, Il-76, Il-62M, Tu-154, and Tu-134 are in service at Sheremetyevo Airport. At the airport's repair base, conversations took place with workers and engineering and technical staff in which difficulties pertaining to aircraft repair were discussed. Shortcomings in the provision of the requisite number of engines were mentioned. Criticism was leveled against manufacturers and the quality of metal and other structural materials. It was emphasized that the development of international air transport is considerably outstripping the airport's material and technical facilities. The airport complex does not meet international requirements. Power, water, and heating facitilities are in urgent need of modernization. There is a shortage of auxiliary premises at the airport for technical and commercial services.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary acquainted himself with plans for the reconstruction of Sheremetyevo-1 for international flights. He also visited the Civil Aviation Ministry's main computer center.

V.M. Chebrikov was accompanied by A.N. Volkov, USSR minister of civil aviation.

Falin Discusses Problems of Reforms

AU3006125489 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 30 Jun 89 p 4

[Statement by Valentin Falin, chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, during an interview with Kurt Seinitz: "What Has To Be Changed in the USSR"—date and place not given]

[Text] "Of course, the positive changes in our society should take place more quickly and more convincingly. There are several reasons for the present problems and disappointed expectations. First, the ailment of the economy that Gorbachev has taken over is far greater than was originally assumed. The extent of the state's financial crisis, for example, was not completely clear when we started to initiate restructuring. Thus, things were tackled with exaggerated expectations, and the people's readiness for cooperation was also overestimated."

Anti-Alcohol Campaign

"This applies, for example, to the anti-alcohol campaign that was initiated with great idealistic ideas. The result is disappointing. On the one hand, the state loses R40 billion in revenues, which aggravates its financial crisis, on the other hand, people know how to satisfy their addiction by other means."

Gorby Is Not God

"We are still confronted with the difficulty of explaining to the people that it is in their own interest to achieve more, to be more disciplined, and that their future depends on them and not on some god. Our system created a great degree of social security for the people and they have gotten used to getting everything from the state. We are entitled to work, to cheap apartments, cheap bread, and a free educational system. People no longer are concerned about from where the state takes the money. Some of them believe that this is the miracle of socialism. In the past some of the propaganda was primitive and this is also to blame for such ideas."

"Miracle of Socialism"

"Now we have made it clear to the people: It is not a miracle of socialism that we do not work hard enough to merit our good living. In the future we will live as we will work. The policy of leveling that we have made so far was not the philosophy of Lenin's October Revolution. Leveling by producing equality in poverty is not socialism."

Problem of Hostage Taking in Penal Colonies

PM2606160589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 89 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Amerkhanov report under the rubric "Happenings": "Hostages Taken Once Again"]

[Text] A sick call was beginning early one morning in the medical unit of a Krasnoyarsk Kray corrective-labor colony. Medical workers L. Tyulkina and L. Krasovskaya, suspecting nothing about the scheme devised by the "patients," entered the waiting room. However, the imaginary invalids quickly slammed the door behind them and barricaded it. They bound the women, said they were hostages, and threatened to kill them if they resisted.

However, what resistance could there be when the women were up against four inveterate bandits armed with pointed implements.

A few minutes later, a sheet of paper was thrown out of the medical unit window, on which the criminals set forth their ultimatum: In exchange for the hostages' lives they demanded a bus, two jerricans of gasoline, a helicopter, and also weapons, civilian clothes, liquor, drugs....

A serious situation was taking shape, particularly as negotiations and appeals for prudence, which the prosecutor and representatives of the corrective-labor colony management and of the internal forces had put to the hostage takers, had gone unanswered. The headquarters set up to conduct the operation decided to partly meet the criminals' demands. They were provided with a bus in which they and the hostages drove out to a helicopter pad. However, the State Automobile Inspectorate helicopter did not suit the criminals. They demanded another one. The hostage takers were becoming more aggressive by the minute. After tying their victims to the seats, they began sadistically torturing the women, stabbing them with pointed implements. Then the criminals poured gasoline on the bus and set it on fire, having decided to destroy the hostages and themselves.

It was impossible to delay any longer. A prearranged signal was given. A shot from a sniper's rifle was muffled by the crackling of burning paint. The criminals' leader was killed. The rescue group, made up of Major V. Seledets, Senior Lieutenant V. Ponomarev, Lieutenant Yu. Ashikhin, and Ensign V. Fessel, immediately dashed toward the burning bus. It was all over in seconds. Each of those who ran toward the bus was aware that people's lives now depended on him and realized that he had to act with certainty in the smoke and fire inside the cramped bus...

Once again the Internal Affairs Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs received this report: "Criminals disarmed, hostages freed..." Well, it is a perfectly natural outcome.

From the Editorial Office: However, this leads to a perfectly natural question: When will such happenings be ruled out in corrective-labor colonies? It is being put to us with increasing frequency by readers. For it is obvious that specific measures are required, but things still seem to be getting no further than talking. In our view, the solution to this problem depends not just on the leadership of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Internal Forces.

Antidrug Operation Begins in Tajikistan

LD2506152689 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] An antidrug operation has begun in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Tajikistan. It is aimed at locating and destroying poppy crops. The current operation is believed to become a most difficult one. Over the past 4 years since the launching of an antidrug campaign, poppy crops have been reduced in towns and the countryside but they have appeared in remote mountain areas. Poppy crops have been revealed even on the territory of a cemetery.

Paper Reports Background to Rostov AIDS Cases

PM2606091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. But dispatch followed by Editorial Office report: "AIDS—Not a Local Emergency. AIDS Virus Antibodies Detected in Three Children's Blood in Rostov Oblast"]

[Text] Rostov Oblast—A 10-year-old boy from Novoshakhtinsk is already dead—he developed heart disease and his organ could not defend itself. There are two other patients—a 1-year-old boy and a 2-year-old girl, both from Rostov.

An emergency commission has been set up in the oblast, a team of specialists from Moscow is at work, and the country's leading scientists and specialists are involved. Everyone who has been in contact with the virus carriers—over 300 people—is being investigated. The places where these contacts occurred are the city's No. 1 Children's Hospital, the No. 20 City Hospital, and the No. 1 Emergency Hospital in Rostov. It is painstaking and complex work.

"There is a countless multitude of ways for the virus to spread," I. Chebotarev, chief of the oblast Public Health Department, said. "So far, one evil has been clearly identified—the shortage of disposable syringes. But the danger would remain even if this problem were to be solved. For example, is there always proper sterilization of dental instruments, surgical instruments, or instruments for taking blood samples? All these are other possible ways for the virus to spread."

Public health officials have made considerable efforts to place orders for instruments with oblast enterprises that represent about 10 ministries. This is how A. Zarezin, chief of the oblast's "Medtekhnika" Association, appraises the situation:

"Nobody is against, but nobody is in favor, either. We often feel the effect of what we dub collective egoism. Unfortunately, leaders and labor collective councils alike seek material advantage before anything else."

The oblast's enterprises can manufacture virtually any instrument and any type of equipment. The giant "Atommash" plant could easily manufacture several hundred dry-heat cabinets, which are ideal for sterilization. The plant is operating at full capacity, but is in no hurry to work for anyone's benefit. As a result, a cooperative is starting production of sterilization apparatus while a helicopter manufacturing plant pretends that it cannot help the medics. How long must medicine go begging cap in hand?

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome [AIDS]—a disease that essentially involves the deficiency of an organism's immune functions—tells us that our society suffers from an enormous deficiency in terms of economic, managerial, and moral probity. And even ordinary common sense seems to be in short supply: Counting kopecks while disregarding health?

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: After receiving this dispatch from our correspondent, we telephoned A. Kondrusev, USSR deputy minister of health. Events in Rostov Oblast, he said, have not yet been fully clarified. Specialists from the RSFSR Ministry of Health are at work. I must say: It was clear from the very beginning that events in Kalmykia were not just a local emergency; the infection would inevitably have manifested itself in other regions. There is no doubt at all that unidentified AIDS carriers exist.

I fully agree that the frightening threat of a grave illness demands a completely different organization of work at hospitals and other medical treatment institutions where injections and surgery are carried out and where blood samples are taken for analysis. Sterilization at all stages of testing and treatment—this is the main factor that would halt the transmission of the disease in hospitals. This demands not only the more rigid application of all work regulations on the part of medical personnel, but also a complete change in the image of our hospitals and in supplies for them. A tremendous task, but it must be solved immediately, at the state level.

Correction to Khitrin, Yazov Answer Questions

LD1207015189

The following correction pertains to the the item headlined "Khitrin, Yazov Answer Questions," published in the National Affairs section of the 11 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 50:

subslug should read: ...board of the USSR Procuracy; Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, candidate for USSR minister of... (providing dropped passage)

Correction to Defense Minister on Naval Areas

LD2806113789

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Defense Ministry Opens Estonian Naval Areas," published in the 26 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 72:

column one, paragraph one, sentence one make read: ...area of over 3,000 square kilometers... (correcting figure)

Agricultural

Further on CPSU Agrarian Commission Session

PM1207103789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Session of CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Policy Commission"]

[Text] A routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Policy Commission took place 7 July under the chairmanship of Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The questions "On Proposals for New State Purchase Prices for Agricultural Output Worked Out on the Basis of the Demands of the the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum" and "On Progress in Forming the Plan for the Socioeconomic Development of the Agro-industrial Complex in 1990" were discussed.

The following delivered reports on the first question: A.A. Krasnopivtsev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices; A.A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and M.B. Ryzhikov, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and chairman of the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers Trade Union Central Committee.

During the exchange of opinions the commission members stressed that the creation of an interlinked system of prices for agro-industrial complex output which gears all components of the complex to achieving high final results is not only of great socioeconomic significance but also an important political instrument. This is the key question of the new economic mechanism.

Measures proposed in the draft with the aim of stimulating growth in the production of agricultural output and making rational use of it were critically analyzed.

The desire was expressed to continue work on the new state purchase prices for agricultural output with the intention of linking them more closely with other component parts of the agro-industrial complex' economic management mechanism, ensuring equivalence in exchange between the agrarian and other sectors of the national economy, and creating the necessary conditions for kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] to work profitably on the basis of full economic accountability and self-financing.

In addition, prices must help to increase the production of high-quality and ecologically clean output.

Taking into account the fact that prices are a complex and subtle economic mechanism, the commission reached the conclusion that it is necessary to formulate alternative proposals on new prices and in 1990 to check their efficiency in individual republics, krays, and oblasts by way of an experiment. And only then, in the light of accumulated experience, to decide the question of their extensive introduction in the country's agro-industrial complex.

P.A. Paskar, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, delivered a report on the second question. He noted that the draft plan for 1990 is being formulated in accordance with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum, which defined the line of boosting local organs' role and responsibility in food supplies to the population. The draft is being formed on the basis of proposals from oblasts, krays, and republics. Particular attention is being paid to boosting reciprocal output deliveries, increasing production efficiency in conditions of enterprises' work on the basis of full economic accountability and self-financing, improving the economic mechanism, and widely introducing leases and contracts.

During the discussion the commission members drew attention to the draft's weak points. In particular, they noted the imbalance between the volume of production and material, technical, and financial resources. The draft deviates from the 5-year plan with regard to many indicators. For instance, it unjustifiably plans to reduce the commissioning of food industry enterprises.

In this connection proposals were voiced with regard to seeking out in the process of further work on the plan the necessary reserves and potential for growth in agro-industrial production in order to reach the level of the 5-year plan in all the most important indicators, to increase the volume of foodstuffs, and ultimately to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the population.

The discussion of the questions was sharp, with all the participants showing great interest and vigor.

The following commission members spoke at the session: N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee; A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee; Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; V.V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Sovie Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers; D.K. Motornyy, chairman of the S.M. Kirov Kolkhoz in Kherson Oblast; I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom [Kray Committee]; B.M. Volodin, first secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom [Oblast Committee]; V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom; A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Obkom; V.I. Kalashnikov, first secretary of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom; N.F. Tatarchuk, first secretary of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom; and also P.I. Mostovoy, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply; V.A. Starodubtsev, chairman of the V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz in Tula Oblast; A.P. Aydak, chairman of the "Leninskaya iskra" Kolkhoz in Chuvash ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]; G.V. Kulik, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Agro-industrial Committee and RSFSR minister; V.N. Semenov, USSR deputy minister of finance; and others.

At the next session of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Policy Commission it has been decided to examine questions connected with the work of ministries, departments, and local organs to reduce losses in the production, storage and transportation of agricultural output.

RSFSR Agricultural Development Discussed

PM1107122589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers: Russia's Agrarian Policy"]

[Text] On 28 June the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers examined the question "On the Tasks of RSFSR Soviet and Economic Organs Stemming from the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum Directives on Questions of the CPSU's Agrarian Policy in Present-Day Conditions and the Results of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies."

A report was delivered by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The sitting analyzed in detail the republic's progress in fulfilling the Food Program, made a principled appraisal of the activity of the RSFSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee], the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom, other ministries and departments, Autonomous Republic Councils of Ministers, krayispolkoms [kray soviet executive committees], and oblispolkoms [oblast soviet executive committees] on boosting the output of foodstuffs, and mapped out specific avenues for accelerating the pace of agriculture's development and for solving the food problem.

It was emphasized that the role of union republics is undergoing substantial change as regards the solution of tasks stemming from the March plenum. They now bear the entire burden of responsibility for the state of affairs in the economy's agrarian sector. The RSFSR is specifically called upon to supply its own population with staple foodstuffs and to play a part in forming all-union stocks of grain, milk, meat, potatoes, and fruit and vegetable produce. This is no easy task; it demands major efforts and intense and painstaking work.

A special place was occupied by questions associated with the elaboration of a new economic mechanism for economic management and administration within the RSFSR agro-industrial complex. Life has convincingly proved, the speaker said, that the roots of the chronic lag in the development of the agro-industrial complex lie in the lack of personal responsibility for the land, the flaws in production and economic relations, the alienation of peasants from ownership, and their indifference toward the means of production and the results of their labor. Only when the peasant is united with the land and the means of production economically and legally, rather than formally, and when he is given complete freedom to display initiative and economic enterprise will it become possible to really ensure the working person's personal interest and responsibility for the results of his labor.

The March plenum decisions pave a broad path toward the most diverse forms of ownership—state, cooperative, personal, mixed. Kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], agro-industrial associations, livestock units and combines, peasant farms, and citizens' personal plots are now given equal rights and real autonomy in planning and production management. As regards centralized influence on the development of the agro-industrial complex, it will be exercised primarily through an economic normatives system and an active purchase price policy.

A.V. Vlasov went on to dwell in detail on the development of lease relations, personal plots and peasant family farms, enterprises' agrarian shops, and orchard and truck-farming cooperatives and partnerships in the republic. Convincing arguments were cited to demonstrate that these forms of economic management ought to be regarded as the most immediately available and most effective reserve for boosting food resources. The set task is that, by the end of the 5-Year Plan period, enterprises' agrarian shops should produce at least 30 kg of meat and 50 kg of milk per worker. As regards personal plots, it is planned to sell 200 piglets per 100 peasant homesteads, as against 110 piglets at present. It is necessary to work out an economic mechanism acceptable to rural residents and a system whereby public-sector farms provide services within the framework of integration with them.

Drawing special attention to the need to improve kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which are the basic forms of economic management in the countryside, the speaker formulated a general conclusion: The main avenue which is to lead the Russian countryside out of stagnation and produce a radical solution to the food problem lies via the development of lease relations, the cooperative movement, and integrated farms.

In the conditions of growing autonomy of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises in determining the structure of production and the volume of output sales, the questions of formulating state orders for deliveries of food and raw materials to all-union and republican stocks have to be tackled in a new fashion. Appropriate targets for forming these stocks are to be set only for autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts. With these principled directives in mind, proposals were made about participation by RSFSR oblasts in forming the union and republic stocks with due consideration for their natural and climatic conditions, resources potential, and specialization. At the same time, conditions will be created for the transition of autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts to the principles of self-sufficiency.

The report noted that the acuteness of problems in food supplies can be alleviated and a stable supply of foodstuffs to the population achieved only if the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex attain a qualitatively new technological level of production. Key importance in this regard attaches to the acceleration of

scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial complex and the ensuring of close integration between science and production. Special mention was made of the importance of creating a network of science and production systems and associations, developing contract relations between science and the main links of agro-industrial production, and expanding cooperative principles in the organization of scientific research.

The republic is facing the following task, A.V. Vlasov declared: to achieve a gross grain harvest of 140-145 million tonnes (in granary weight) during the 13th 5-Year Plan period and thus to fully satisfy the needs for food and feed grain.

Serious concern was expressed as regards the supplies of potatoes, fruit and vegetable produce, sugar, and vegetable oils for the republic's population.

An important place was occupied by questions concerning the development of stock raising sectors, boosting the output of meat and milk, and alleviating the acuteness of problems as regards supplying the population with these foodstuffs. The republic, as the report said, has real opportunities to boost already in the immediate future the output of meat and milk by 26 and 20 percent respectively compared with last year. This must be achieved by relying mainly on the intensive path of the sector's development: Constantly improving the organization and technology of production, making fuller use of genetic potential and the opportunities offered by breeding and selection work, and strengthening the feed base.

There was a critical examination of the state of affairs in sectors associated with the processing of agricultural output. As a result of serious shortcomings in the work of construction industry organizations and of lack of initiative and monitoring by local organs, the normative schedules for construction of many enterprises for the processing of agricultural output are exceeded fourfold, fivefold, or even more. The task is to accelerate the pace so as to make up the lag in the commissioning of capacities for the processing sectors. Along with the construction of major specialized enterprises, a network of smaller shops and food combines in the countryside must be more actively developed. The main point is to resolutely abandon obsolete technologies and to seek new approaches toward questions of modernizing existing equipment.

The key task in solving all the problems of the countryside's development is still the provision of social amenities. The report noted that the 13th 5-Year Plan period will see a sharp increase in the commissioning of rural housing, general education schools, preschool institutions, clubs and houses of culture, outpatient clinics, main water supply lines, gas supply networks, stores, public catering enterprises, and highways. It is planned to more fully use the cities' industrial and intellectual potential for retooling and the provision of social amenities in the Russian countryside.

Having supported the report's thesis about the transition of the republic's regions to self-sufficiency, Krasnoyarsk Krayispolkom Chairman V.I. Sergiyenko emphasized in his speech that the local soviets' responsibility for solving the food problem can be implemented only provided they are given broader rights, primarily in questions of planning state orders, organizing procurements of agricultural output, setting contract purchase prices, and supplying agriculture with material and technical resources, especially construction materials produced in the kray.

He approved the proposal to set up a republican insurance fund and spoke in favor of the need to retain the current system for material and technical supplies to the agro-industrial complex and of the need for a considered approach toward land reclamation, without whose development it is difficult to expect any enhancement of the efficiency of agricultural production.

V.P. Loginov, RSFSR minister of land reclamation and water resources, noted that land reclamation workers are today correctly criticized for mistakes committed in the past. But it is fundamentally wrong to reject land reclamation as a sector of the agro-industrial complex. He drew attention to the importance of expanding work on soil liming, loosening overcompacted soil and especially chernozem soil, increasing the volume of chemical land reclamation, and improving the quality of land reclamation construction work and the efficiency of reclaimed lands.

Gorkiy Oblispolkom Chairman A.A. Sokolov emphasized in his speech that farms expect firm purchase prices for agricultural output. But these prices must consolidate the kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy rather than undermine its foundations. Speaking about the oblast's problems, he noted the need for all ministries and departments to be directly involved in the countryside's social development, and for conditions to be created to expand individual housing construction and the own-resources method of construction in the countryside.

N.Ya. Golub, RSFSR minister of grain products, devoted his speech to questions of increasing grain production and purchases. He emphasized that the economic autonomy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be combined with lofty responsibility for the fulfillment of state orders. At the same time, it is necessary to further develop economic incentives for farms to increase grain sales to the state, especially sales of durum wheat varieties, buckwheat, millet, oats, barley, and groat crops. The speaker also dwelt on questions of constructing bakery, confectionery, and mixed feed industry enterprises and of supplying the sector with technological equipment.

A.V. Aleksankin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom, dwelt in his speech on problems concerning the further development of the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone's agro-industrial complex

and the reserves for boosting food resources. Marked positive changes are occurring in this direction in Ryazan, Kaluga, and Orel Oblasts and the Mari and Chuvash Autonomous Republics. The volume of gross agricultural output must increase by 28 percent during the 13th 5-Year Plan period, and the volume of processing industry output by 40 percent. The region is developing a program for the creation of a durable feed base for stock raising, and the work of land reclamation organizations is being channeled into the improvement of grassland and pastures and the comprehensive cultivation of fields. He criticized leaders of local soviet and economic organs who allow unjustified cuts in the areas sown to grain crops, flax, potatoes, and vegetable crops, reduce the cattle herd, and fail to compensate for this by increased harvest yields and productivity.

The region has to carry out a tremendous amount of work on the countryside's social development and to revive 48,000 smaller villages. With a view to increasing the volume of housing and road construction, main gas supplies, and social amenities for the Non-Chernozem countryside, measures have been planned to develop the production of local construction materials and to attract funds from industry and the population for this purpose, including by means of lotteries, Communist subbotniks, and other sources.

The following also spoke during the debate on the report: L.P. Prokopyev, chairman of the Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; A.A. Shutkov, deputy chairman of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences All-Russia Department Presidium; Orenburg Oblispolkom Chairman A.G. Kostenyuk; V.I. Kazakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; B.V. Prokopchuk, chairman of Tyumen Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee; Kemerovo Oblispolkom Chairman A.F. Lyutenko; and RSFSR Minister V.N. Shcherbak, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Gosagroprom.

Appropriate government resolutions were adopted on the questions discussed at the sitting.

Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other ministries and departments took part in the work of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.